

of Joshimath. The tourist bring their own food and leave behind nothing but pollution.

The India-China dispute also harmed the region. It was easy to reach Tibet from Uttarkhand through Neelganga, Neel, Mana and Badahoti passes. During the summers, the cattle from the boarder areas roamed into Tibet and during the winters the Tibetans came to these parts [India]. This exchange encouraged the trade which in turn boosted the handicraft industry. Tibet exported fine wool, musk and other fine products, and from Uttarkhand products like salt, cooking oil etc, and those other items which were not available in Tibet were sent from India. This exchange profited the traders and the people who looked after their beasts of burden. This exchange ceased to exist after the incidence [with Chinese Troops] of Badahoti. It is true that the Indian troops are stationed everywhere in the area but all of their needs come duly packaged from the plains.

The geographic and economic conditions of Uttarkhand are so different that even the Zamindari Abolition Act which was so zealously promulgated by Govindballabh Pant could not be enforced in certain districts including Uttarkhand. The Uttar Pradesh Zamindari Abolition Act could not be implemented in any part of Uttarkhand except the Kashipur county in the district of Nainital because there is no cultivable land in Uttarkhand, and no feudal landlords. Those who cultivated had to labor very hard. The Uttar Pradesh Zamindari Abolition and Land Reform Act of 1950 was implemented in Uttar Pradesh on July 1, 1952. At that time all districts except Rampur, Tihri-Garwal, Jonsar-Bhawar area of Dehradun district, all districts in Kamayun region, and Kashipur county in Nainital district were exempt from this Act. In 1953-55 this Act was implemented in Rampur, and in the metro area of Kanpur etc. But according to the book, "A Study of Land Reforms in Uttar Pradesh", by Baljit Singh and Shridhar Misra, this Act is still not enforced in the counties of Nainital, Garwal, Almora, Tihri-Garwal, Uttarkashi, Pithoragarh, and Chamoli.

If such an important Act which happens to be the first land reform act of the country, and which was propagated by the first Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh who came from that area, was not enforced in Uttarkhand, this clearly tells us that the region is certainly different then the other parts of the country. Even today it is necessary to understand this truth.

Now let us examine the history of Uttarkhand as it is intertwined in the discipline of its people. Generally, the residents of hilly areas and similar hard to live areas have strong will power and they cannot be easily intimidated or pressured. Uttarkhand is a part of the country that is considered divine by all who came to visit the area because it is the place where god and man met on equal footings. That is why the area was always ruled by the local people. Any ruler of the remainder of India never dared to control this part and if some crazy person endeavored to do it, his remains can still be seen scattered in the icy reservoir of

Rupkund. Raja Kanakpal had established the royal family of Tihri-Garwal in the year 688 and the current Prince Manvendra Shah is the 59th king in the dynasty. No other king could put this dynasty to an end but in 1948 the workers of the native Peoples General Committee captured the Tihri treasury and administrative offices, and imprisoned the Inspector-General of Police. After this incident, their leader K. N. Gairola became the chief minister, and during the Congress High Command's Convention in Dehradun the Congress President Pattabhi Sitaramaya and a distinguished minister of the Uttar Pradesh government Sampurnanad, visited the capital city of Narendranagar. They complemented its legislative assembly for its work. The lone volunteer Sunderlal Bahuguna, working for the Tihri Peoples Committee, initiated the Chipko movement for protecting the forests and heralded the power of the public will to the world.

At the time when the Congress administration took control of the Garwal and Kamayun districts, contrary to the practice of conducting court business in Urdu in all of Uttar Pradesh, Hindi was used in the districts of Garwal and Kamayun. Similarly since 1860 when first in Mathura and then in the rest of the districts Hindi, Urdu and Farsi were taught in the primary schools, in the districts of Garwal and Kamayun Commissioners only Hindi was taught. Sometime ago a Chinese pilgrim Hun Chang had visited the region, and had praised this practice. For years the area was under the rule of Katury kings but later the royal family of Nepal absorbed it, and it remained under their rule for a few years. Subsequent to its defeat at the hands of the East India Company, Nepal after signing the treaty of Sangoli, transferred the districts of Almora, Nainital, Garwal, and Dehradun to the British. Even during this period and much before the initiation of the movement for Indian independence, the local people had successfully demonstrated against working without wages and coolie practices. Similarly the practice of inducing the women of this area to engage in prostitution in other parts of India was also protested. In the course of these movements Govindballabh Pant of Kamayun Parishad, and Badridutt Pandey who was first the editor of "ALMORA NEWS" and later the editor of "SHAKTI" became famous. In Tihri-Garwal, one Devsman sacrificed his life for protecting the rights of public. This region has, therefore, always been active and full of the spirit of sacrifice. Ninetyseven of the one hundred soldiers of Kamayun Rifles while defending the Chusul area from a Chinese attack sacrificed their lives but did not let the 3000 Chinese soldiers advance. On the other front near the "Sella" pass the Afghan Generals commanding a well equipped army of several thousand strong soldiers simply on the hearsay that Chinese had penetrated the other pass, retreated without a fight and ran to Tezpur. While dealing with the young ones of the hilly region, one should pay attention to their history and character. The region is deprived of both the industry and agriculture. Therefore, the people either join the army or wash dishes in the plains. The only way they know to progress is education and that is why the

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"He fell out of a plane and landed on his feet, he was trapped in a war in Beirut and came out of it alive. His whole life has been one great miracle. Really, the entire peace with the Zionists is a miracle. I told him, it is a gift from heaven that the Zionists have not given you more than Gaza and Jericho because you would not be able to solve all the problems. He smiled at that. I see that the Lord wants him to succeed so he will be able to save us and deliver the country from this malicious government. I have no doubt of this. He is the emissary of the Holy One, Blessed be He."

[Nevo] An emissary with so much blood on his hands?

[Hirsch] The ways of the Lord are mysterious.

[Nevo] Do you not feel that he is taking advantage and making a joke of you?

[Hirsch] A joke? He treats me with great respect. Our relations are warm. He clearly is not exploiting us. We serve him and he serves us.

[Nevo] What does he really want from you? After all, you are a minority without any influence in the country.

[Hirsch] 'Arafat needs us to show the world that he has nothing against Jews. For him, we are the proof that Jews and Arabs can be good neighbors, the way they were in this country before the Zionist invasion. In my humble opinion, it was partly thanks to us that the Zionists made peace with the Palestinians. All our meetings with Palestinian leaders showed the Zionists that the Palestinians are not going to bite you.

[Nevo] Your attitude seems somewhat hypocritical. On the one hand, you are unwilling to recognize the Zionist state, but on the other, you are willing to serve as minister in a regime whose leader has signed an agreement with that state.

[Hirsch] There was nothing to stop the Palestinians from recognizing the Zionist state because their struggle was a material one. They fought for land that the Zionists had stolen from them, and you can compromise over material matters. But Neturei Qarta is waging a spiritual war against the Zionists, and there can be no compromise in such matters. So every piece of land that the Palestinians get from the Zionists reduces the danger and improves our situation. On this issue, the Palestinians are becoming our "Sabbath gentile."

[Nevo] Does he intend to observe the agreement?

[Hirsch] I have no doubt of that.

[Nevo] They say he is a big liar.

[Hirsch] That is simply a slander. I know him as an honest man.

[Hirsch] That is not true. What he promised me he will fulfill. That is what he said.

[Nevo] Do you know what your new duties will be?

[Hirsch] I have already begun and gotten things done. Through my mediation and influence, it was decided that the synagogues and Jewish cemeteries in the autonomy territories will be under Palestinian authority so they will not be desecrated. If you now see Palestinian police around the Jericho synagogue, that is my doing.

As for the future—after I arrange for passports and ID cards for our community, I will establish a kashrut council to grant licenses to Arab shops in the territories. I will also establish a rabbinical court in the territories to render judgments in disputes between Jews and between Jews and Arabs.

[Nevo] Who will go to such a rabbinical court?

[Hirsch] What do you mean, who? Our community. I believe that when the Palestinian state is founded, Neturei Qarta will immigrate there from all over the world.

[Nevo] Where will his Excellency the Minister live?

[Hirsch] I will continue to live in Me'ah She'arim because I have chosen to raise my children here in the ghetto without outside influences. The day that east Jerusalem is transferred to Arab sovereignty, Me'ah She'arim will also be annexed to the Palestinian state because it is part of the old city.

[Nevo] And your office will remain in Me'ah She'arim?

[Hirsch] Abu-'Amar has promised me an office in Gaza.

[Nevo] What does it look like?

[Hirsch] Like an office.

[Nevo] A flag, for example, will hang? Pictures...

[Hirsch] There will be a PLO flag in my office and pictures of rabbis and holy books and photos of the Western Wall and the Tomb of Rachel.

[Nevo] I hear that you still have not visited the Wall.

[Hirsch] Right. By command of the Satmar rebbe, we are forbidden to go to the Western Wall because it is controlled by the Zionists.

[Nevo] How can a haredi Jew live without the Western Wall?

[Hirsch] I have pictures of the Western Wall on the walls of my house, and when I get up each morning, I look at them. Similarly, before every holiday, I walk to a high point in Jerusalem, look down on the Western Wall with fieldglasses and pray.

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It is hard to go on this way, so one time I asked my friend, Anwar el-Hatib from Beit-Hanina, who is related to King Husayn, to ask the king to grant us permission to visit the Western Wall. I thought, since Hussein is guardian of the site, his permission would allow us to get around the rabbi's prohibition. We wanted to walk to the Wall in a large group with a sign saying "We are going to the Western Wall by permission of King Hussein," but the king orally sent us his permission and refused to give us permission in writing. That put an end to our plan.

[Nevo] If you were to meet King Hussein in the course of your duties, what would you discuss with him?

[Hirsch] Perhaps matters of kashrut.

[Nevo] And if 'Arafat sends you on an important mission to Rabin?

[Hirsch] I would send him a Sabbath gentile.

[Nevo] What are you proud of?

[Hirsch] That at long last I have reached the pinnacle of the hatred that Zionism deserves.

[Nevo] And what do you regret?

[Hirsch] That I still have not succeeded in destroying the Zionist state.

[Nevo] Do you take yourself seriously, my esteemed rabbi?

[Hirsch] Why not?

Internal Threat Activity by Fatah Described

94AA0116B Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew
26 Aug 94 p B5

[Article by 'Ada Ushpiz: "Murder Threats in the PLO's Back Yard"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Not as usual, the outside doors, which lead to a large foyer and a staircase to the rooms in the spacious villa in the suburbs of Ramallah, where lives Maha Nasr, a physics teacher in a local secondary school and the chairwoman of the women's organization of the Popular Front, were locked. This house is always open to friends and activists who visit it, murmured her female friend when she rang the bell, suppressing an ironic smile. Only after several rings and knocks were heard Maha's cautious steps and her voice, hoarse with tension, asked: Who is it? She opened the door, blushing, confused, holding the wireless telephone, which did not stop ringing. The threats on her life and the lives of her children, in the last few days, showed clearly on her. The anonymous threateners, apparently Fatah members in Ramallah, had responded in that way to the internal political debate in the Palestinian women's federation.

The distress in the house, despite the voices of the playing children and the noise of the television, made very real the severity of the possibility of internal terror,

which threatens Palestinian society. What happened to Maha may perhaps be no more than fallout from political hooliganism, which developed on the fringes of the intifadah, and is now expressed in the internal political struggle of the era of the autonomy, between the Fatah organization and the factions of the left, over the hegemony in all of the political and social entities. And perhaps the campaign of intimidation against Maha and her family was spontaneous and exceptional, an act by lone, unidentified activists, without the knowledge of the Fatah chiefs in Ramallah—as is asserted in the PLO. But the rage that borders on desperation that is aroused by the story of the act among those who hear about it (mainly in the secular opposition circles to the PLO and Palestinian human rights activists), its repetition from ear to ear, and the repeated discussion of its details, with open nervousness—all these reveal an existing infrastructure of internalized fears, predicting misfortune, of the triumph of nondemocratic political traditions.

The story of Maha was connected with one of the basic debates raging today in the West Bank. Since the Oslo agreement, a serious struggle is going on over the unequivocal authority of the Fatah bureaucracy not only in the PLO's political institutions, but also in the non-governmental and independent organizations, such as the trade unions, students' organizations, women, societies for human rights and for welfare. In the PLO there are those who justify this by the necessary process for governmental crystallization of Palestinian society, prior to the establishing of the Palestinian state. They usually use rhetoric reminiscent of the days of the abolition of the factions and the MAPAI takeover of the state-in-the-making. Others, mainly in the Democratic Front and in the Popular Front, sense that the takeover by the Fatah bureaucracy and the liquidation of the independent organizations are liable to put an end to the political heterogeneity in Palestinian society. From their viewpoint, this front of struggle is a test for democracy. Maha is one of those who hold this opinion, and for that reason she paid this week, in her opinion, a heavy price. "I view the democratic dream collapsing before my eyes," she said with a sorrow that seemed sincere.

The signal for the beginning of the confrontation in the Palestinian Women's Federation was given at the conference at "National Palace" two weeks ago, where the draft of the covenant for women's rights was presented for the first time. The federation includes women's organizations of the Fatah, FIDA (former members of the Democratic Front, headed by Yasir 'Abd-Rabbu, who have taken up the Fatah line), The People's Party (the communists), and the two Fronts, the Popular and the Democratic. The federation is one of the large independent organizations in the territories, on which the ax has not yet fallen. At that conference, the women of Fatah, FIDA, and the communists, without the knowledge of their colleagues, joined to invite the minister of welfare of the Palestinian administration, Intisar al-Wazir (Umm-Jihad),

the widow of Abu-Jihad, 'Arafat's second-in-command who was murdered in 1988, to formally open the conference.

Maha Nasr, who was abroad at that time, did not participate in the conference. Other female activists of the Democratic and Popular Fronts took the microphone and expressed their opinion: "We do not want the government to intervene in our affairs. We all respect Umm-Jihad, we invite her to participate in the conference as a fighting woman, but not as an official representative of the autonomy authority, which puts us under its wings. That is a symbolic, but significant, act that impairs our independence."

Last week, in their meeting for a final wording of a draft on women's rights, the Fatah women demanded openly to invite Umm-Jihad to open the Palestinian women's conference, which was to be held that week. This time, Maha, who is the secretary of the federation and the chairwoman of Popular Front's women's organization, was the one who stood up against them. Two days later, she said, the telephone in her home rang. The anonymous speaker presented himself as a member of "the Abu-Jihad group." "You have 48 hours to announce to Samihah (the reference is to Samihah Khalil, the chairwoman of the women's federation) that you have changed your mind, otherwise we will grind up you and your children," said the voice, according to Maha.

Her first response was anger no less than fear. "You should be ashamed," she preached to him, "were Abu-Jihad alive, he would not agree to such idiocies." Slowly the fear began to sink in. "You should be ashamed," she added, "I have heard a lot about you, but I never dreamed that you would sink so low." Maha, about 40 years old, a Christian, married to a successful businessman, in a loose house dress, chain smokes, speaks quickly, with determination, her voice is choked, her eyes are moist. She decided to downplay the incident, she said, so as not to divert the debate on substance to accusations about personal attacks, but she did not forgo her opposition to the appearance of Umm-Jihad at the women's meeting.

The next day she found at the entrance to her house a blood-soaked rag, as was done during the days of the intifadah with collaborators and adulteresses. "I was hurt that they dared to treat me that way," she said, blind of course to the fate that befell some of the female collaborators and adulteresses. She was frightened, threw the rag to the side, and hurried to burn it in her courtyard, before the children would see it. At the edges of the burnt rag it was still possible to make out the remnants of the blood. Anonymous telephone calls became a daily harassment. One day someone tried to force down the door to her house, with shoves and kicks, she related. She chased after him, but came back exhausted, finding herself forced against her will into a defensive stance, both fearing for her life and struggling over her trampled political status. She told her frightened children that apparently it had been a thief.

In such political terror, whose perpetrators are identified with the authorities, if only in their own eyes, in a period that appears already in the mirror of the future as post-intifadah and the founding of the state, such an attack is more than the specific threat against Maha's life. At this small moment, the rewriting of history begins. The harassments reduce the self-image of the victim, undermine his legitimacy in society, and Maha responded to that without intending to: "I was afraid, but more than that I was angry," she said, "I am a political person, I was in an Israeli prison five times, I suffered, I fought, I am the chairwoman of a women's organization, how do they dare to treat me like that? I am known in Ramallah, how do they dare? I never once believed that they are real democrats, I always argued that the Fatah is a dictatorship of one man, now they are casting the proof at my door. I pitied my children. They suffered enough from the Israeli terror. When soldiers came to arrest me in my home, my children saw a lot. Now persons from among my people are threatening us on account of our political opinions."

A telephone ring that was broken off immediately cut the conversation short. She became silent, gathering her thoughts occasionally. "Excuse me," she stammered, the apprehension showing clearly in her eyes, "that proves to me that they are continuing, they have no intention of stopping." Suddenly she was unwilling to continue with the interview. She had agreed to it because the PLO office in Ramallah had hesitated in condemning the terror against her. Now she was not sure if it were all right. Her life is in danger, she said, the game had become too dangerous. Her helplessness increased when the rumor spread that Umm-Jihad herself had contacted the Reuter's reporter and demanded that she not publish the story, and even added a threat: "We will know how to punish anyone who does not obey us." ("I only asked the journalist what right she had to publish something that she had not verified," responded Umm-Jihad this week.) Whatever the version, Reuter did not publish the story.

Maha's fears are, perhaps, exaggerated. Her female friends who had pressured her to come forth with a direct attack accused the organization—the Popular Front—of leaving her alone "in a struggle that is of the essence," in the words of a young woman who identifies with the organization. "There is a great fear in our society. It is our duty to demand of the authorities that they seriously denounce the incident, so that it will not become a dangerous precedent." She continued in a quiet voice: "They closed the newspaper AL-NAHAR, they are violating human rights in the detention facilities, they are removing from their path anything that they do not like, they arrest and release prisoners with one telephone call with 'Arafat. This is the moment before the last for voicing our cry."

The meager published material, mainly the denunciation by the Palestinian human rights organization "PHRIC," actually had a positive impact. In the end, they squeezed out of the PLO a denunciatory announcement, which

was published the day before yesterday in AL-QUDS, the paper that is viewed more and more in the West Bank as 'Arafat's mouthpiece. "The acts against Maha Nasr are far from the morality of our people and the group that did this is not considered to be part of the national movement," it is stated in the announcement, in a general way and in weak language. But the shock that was caused so easily to Maha, a woman who is not a minor political activist, who has experience being under pressure, who endured bravely the interrogations of the Shabak [General Security Services], and was pregnant during one of her incarcerations—makes real the fragility of Palestinian society in its war with itself over the shape of the autonomy regime.

At the entrance to the offices of the Palestinian autonomy authority in Abu-Khadra' in Gaza there wave in the wind, between the telephone poles, chains of small Palestinian flags. Gaza of the autonomy definitely looks as if a hump had been removed from its back. The streets are still awash with sewage, but are filled with automobiles. The market is active, colorful. There is no livelihood, the number of those below the poverty line has increased. "But the heart is not as heavy, there is the ocean, movies, many feasts," laughed in embarrassment a taxi driver, who had previously made a good living from selling fish in Israel. From the faces of the people has been removed a cloud of helplessness and tension because of the lookouts on the rooftops, the arrests, the curfews, the unexpected clash with the arbitrariness of an armed Israeli soldier. But under the cover of this moment of easing there is coming into being these days—in the offices of the former civil administration, where the autonomy authority has taken up residence—the official ethos of the new Palestinian regime, which revolves around the figure of President 'Arafat.

In contrast to the offices of the authority in Jericho, which are covered with pictures and gigantic, kitschy paintings of 'Arafat, and which give a difficult feeling of the beginning of a personality cult, the walls in Gaza are bare. Only in the office of Umm-Jihad, next to family pictures from the expulsion from Tripoli in 1984, hang not large paintings of 'Arafat and Abu-Jihad, the work of a Tunisian painter. On her desk there is a new painting by Fathi Juban, a painter from Jabalya, that depicts a high and mighty 'Arafat above a mass of men and women (separate), with clenched fists or making the V sign with their fingers, the eyes of all upon him. One of 'Arafat's hands is bleeding and clutching a Palestinian flag, the other extends to the side, sliced by the rays of the sun rising behind him. In the background fly the doves of peace. Umm-Jihad's son, Bassam al-Wazir—a graduate of an American university, as are many of the exiled PLO political nobility—explains to me the main motifs in the painting: " 'Arafat and the people, the struggle and the revolution, peace."

Umm-Jihad, an attractive woman, with light-colored hair, heavysset, whose eyes stare with a penetrating gaze, from whose tongue the slogans roll off lightly, outlined

quickly "the central place of the Palestinian woman in the revolution and in society." The intifadah transformed the Palestinian woman into providers, combatants, martyrs, defenders of their families, helpers of prisoners, the wounded, and the families of those killed. They were among the founders of the neighborhood committees. They had a clear political role. In contrast to many women in the women's organizations, she does not fear a diminution in their status and their return to routine with the institutionalization of the self rule. "Many women have higher education, and they will not return to the kitchen," she promised.

She places her hopes on orderly legislation that will ensure equal rights for women and men in every area, but she is not willing to speak about personal freedom or to take an unequivocal position against the murders on the background of violation of family honor. "That is a sensitive subject," she said, somewhat stressed, but determined, not yet skilled in public relations. "We are living in a Muslim society and there is a difference between the woman's social integration and her moral role. There is a social status that the woman must accept, until the customs and the norms change." The main immediate goal, in her opinion, is plans for development and professional education for woman, so that they will become part of the labor market.

Her measured words sound distant from the distress that bursts out of the draft covenant for the rights of the Palestinian women. Despite the general formulations of the covenant, the reminder is repeated over and over about "the Palestinian-Arab heritage that includes various visions of the status and the role of women in society", and about the need "to encourage the positive side of this heritage" and "to reject social norms that prevent equality and the success of women in society." Over several months, the Palestinian women studied, in 10 workshops, all of the complexities of the law in the Arab countries and specified each of the traps in the legislation of the Arab world into which they are liable to fall. Besides equality of political, civil, and economic rights, they also stressed the right of a woman to choose her husband and not to obey him, to reject his rule over her "due to his being a man," not to relinquish her citizenship when her husband holds a different citizenship, and to be able to pass her citizenship on to her sons, to decide whether she wishes to live in the country of her husband or in her country, to decide for herself how many children she will bear, to ensure her freedom of movement (Jordanian law, for example, requires a woman to obtain permission from her husband, her father, or her brother in order to receive a passport, no matter what her age), and more. In reading the "General Principles" of the covenant and the cautious formulations of Umm-Jihad, it is difficult not to be concerned that many of these demands will remain in the drawers of the women activists.

When the story of Maha Nasr came up, Umm-Jihad became hard. One of the first two women in 'Arafat's court, the widow of a national hero, a symbol in her own

right of the fight for freedom, who had an important role in the Tunis leadership, who stands at 'Arafat's side at official events—she wavered now between contradictory replies, insisted on minor things, feared for her image. She does not agree to appear at the women's conference simply as a woman, she opened assertively. She is the minister of welfare and she has no intention of appearing on any other basis. The women's federation, like all the social organizations, needs a permit from the authorities, suddenly pulling out an argument that served 'Arafat when he shut down the pro-Jordanian newspaper AL-NAHAR. But immediately afterwards, she argued that according to the covenant of the International Federation of Palestinian Women, this body is in any event not independent, rather it is part of the PLO. If they want to change that, if they want to be an independent organization, let them, the convention can decide that, but for the moment this is the situation.

"The women's federation includes a few from each of the factions," she said angrily, in an unsuccessful attempt to return the fire of her adversaries with the weapon that they employ against her, "It cannot be that a minority will impose its opinion on the majority. The majority invited me to the meeting. The majority wants me to open it. This organization is an official organization. Throughout the world, women's organizations are an official arm of the government, in Damascus, in Cairo, in 'Amman, all over the world." The comment that she is drawing her examples solely from the Arab world, shook her a bit. In fact, she was willing to admit, as she had been asked again and again regarding her personal opinion on the matter, she supports the independence of women's organizations. Organizations are for persons, and only in that way will the women be able to express their opinions freely. If they want democracy, the independence of the organizations must be maintained, she said. She is not acquainted with the persons who threatened to murder Maha and her family. She is also not certain that there were such threats, but she denounces the phenomenon vehemently. She had not heard of the Abu-Jihad group. To the best of her knowledge, all of the groups disbanded four years ago. In any event, the matter was turned over the President 'Arafat and the president will investigate.

The myth of the fighter Umm-Jihad, the writing of which is still in full swing, enters with difficulty into the suit of the minister. An unpleasant tone of warning against "that female activist, who did not oppose me personally, rather the regime in general," entered her voice. She was outraged especially by the publications of "PHRIC." It did not have the right to do that without first requesting her response. "I denounce "PHRIC" for that," she declared. And to the man from "PHRIC" who telephoned her by chance that very moment, she also added a different kind of reprimand: "Are not there enough violations of human rights by Israel, that you have to be involved in this?"

Iranian Recruitment of Palestinians in Lebanon

94AA0116A Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew
26 Aug 94 p B2

[Article by Tzvi Bar'el: "The Springs of Money From Tehran"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "The Yasir 'Arafat Social Activity Center" in the 'Ayn al-Hilwah camp near Tyre has already changed its name. The PLO chief, who in the eyes of the 300,000 Palestinian refugees who live in Lebanon became a traitor on 13 September, is already not the man upon whom they place their hopes. The issue of these refugees, who fled or were chased out in 1948, in 1967, and in 1970, is not on the agenda of the bilateral talks. Perhaps they will come to the table in another five or six years. Before them will be discussed the uprooted persons, and before these, the prisoners who are held in Israeli prisons.

No salvation for them is expected from the Government of Lebanon, as well. Even though some of them have lived already 45 years on its soil, they have not received and will not receive a certificate of Lebanese citizenship. One month ago, the government decided to grant 100,000 such certificates to Lebanese residents who had been missing or who had emigrated with their parents before receiving such a certificate. Not a single Palestinian was on the list. If in the past Lebanon had held that the decision not to grant citizenship stems from the Pan-Arab decision to maintain the refugee problem—so that Israel would not assert that they are citizens of another country—the government does not now hide its intentions. Its official spokesmen maintain that the solution of the refugee problem will not be carried out at the expense of Lebanon. About five months ago, Lebanese Foreign Minister Faris Buwayz published his plan for rehabilitating them. According to this plan, the greater part of the refugees will be returned to the territories, another portion will emigrate to Arab states where they have relatives, an additional portion will be sent to the countries of the West in the framework of family reunification, and only a scant few will remain in Lebanon.

Construction and development plans in the refugee camps are approved after a long time and partially, there is no paving of internal roads, places of work receive Lebanese first, and Palestinian refugees are accepted only for simple labor. Even the UN's welfare agency for the refugees, UNRWA [UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East], is not capable of helping. Its budgets are scanty, and when it tries to repair a school or a clinic the Lebanese authorities do not rush to grant a permit. Now, with the decision to transfer the center of the agency from Vienna to Gaza, the situation will get even worse. Despite the international supervision over the agency, it may be assumed that 'Arafat will have broad control over where the monies flow. He will doubtlessly prefer to take care of the refugee camps in

Gaza and the West Bank before he recommends transferring money to the refugees of Lebanon or Jordan. To this will be added also the communications obstacle between the rehabilitation center in Gaza and the refugee camps outside of the territories.

Therefore, the Palestinian population in Lebanon is a ripe fruit for whomever is interested in sponsoring it, and the one that hurried to adopt it was Iran. The place of the Center for Social Activity in 'Ayn al-Hilwah was taken by the "al-Quds" hospital that was opened a few weeks ago and is financed entirely by Iran. The 75 physicians and staff members maintain its 35 beds and the operating rooms, and the care is free. The hospital is part of a broader organizational framework named "Shahid Filastin," which was established more than two years ago within the framework of the Hizballah organization, and over which was appointed by Iran the Iranian diplomat [?Nasr Esfahani], who sits in the embassy in Beirut. This roof organization began to inherit the functions that the PLO had performed when it was in Lebanon. For example, it pays the amount of \$100 per month to each family of which a member was killed as a result of IDF [Israel Defense Forces] activity, it grants free medical care in the Hizballah clinics, free primary and secondary education, and scholarships, and mainly cultivates the extreme religious orientation of the Palestinians and takes care of their military training.

In every refugee camp, Iran acts through "Shahid Falastin" to create a nucleus of military commanders and of trained soldiers, and in that way it succeeds in imposing its will also on the Marxist Palestinian organizations, who oppose the Iranian policy. Munir Makdah, the commander of the 'Eyn Hilwe camp who resigned and went over to the opposition in the PLO, admitted that he had transferred the institutions of his organization to the handling of "Shahid Falastin," and demanded from Iran that it pay the salaries of his soldiers, who number 2,000.

Activists and leaders in Palestinian refusal organizations are trying to contend with the Iranian influence in the refugee camps, but without success. They are not capable of paying their people and their supporters the sums that Iran is paying. So they are standing and watching how more and more branches of the Islamic Jihad are being opened in the camps and nibbling away at the organizations' control. The Iranian activists are also establishing for themselves an army that will compete with the official Palestinian organizations, and perhaps also with the Hizballah, if the organization decides on, and the Lebanese Government allows, the establishing of it as an independent party.

Iran is aware of the differences of opinion within the organization regarding its position when a peace agreement is signed with Lebanon. It is not ready to rely upon the Hizballah not deciding, for considerations of survival, to join the Lebanese Government or at least to support it when it signs a peace agreement, and in that way to end the alliance between itself and Iran, and to

pull out from under it [Iran] the most important stronghold that it has in the Middle East and, perhaps, in the entire world, in that it has military and diplomatic capability. The Palestinians have a special importance within it, because they lack national loyalty to the state in which they reside. Consequently, and as long as Lebanon is subject to the political disorder, Iran is exploiting the time in order to prepare the military cadres who are not linked to the Hizballah, whose members are Lebanese. Thus, for example, were established training camps in southern Beirut and in eastern Ba'al Bek, as well as a center for naval training on the Al'asi River in the northern Bek'a, where Iranian instructors are training Palestinian volunteers.

According to unofficial reports, Iran is allocating the sum of \$3 billion annually for activity outside of Iran, in addition to the budget of its Foreign Ministry. This sum is earmarked also for intelligence and terror activities, but most of it is earmarked for the purpose of exporting the Islamic Revolution. Thus, for example, Iran is concerning itself with the training and financing of extremist Islamic groups in Sudan, in Algeria, in Egypt, and in the territories. But while in these countries the Iranian presence is in the framework of the official governmental activity, by means of diplomatic representatives or emissaries with positions that have been approved by the host state, the situation is different in Lebanon. Here it is possible to find an Iranian presence at every level: from the diplomatic offices, through military instructors in the field, religious instructors in the mosques, social workers, building contractors, and sports instructors.

Indirectly, Iran is also becoming an important employer of the Palestinians. Through members of the Hizballah or supporters of Iran in Lebanon, and with the financing of the Iranian Export Bank, through which pass the monies for the foreign activities, Iranian organizations such as "Shahid Falastin" are purchasing large plots of land for residential construction. The construction of the residential units and the development of the land around them is being carried out by means of contractors who are employing thousands of Palestinians, and who in that way constitute an important source of income for the families that have lost the PLO budgets.

But Iran's official activity in Lebanon is directed towards consolidating the ideological-religious infrastructure among the Palestinians. In the past year, tens of new mosques were constructed in the refugee camps, which are gathering in precisely youth who seek something to do in the many hours of free time and the opportunity to receive an allowance or a grant or a job in exchange for their religious activity. After years in which the camps were a center for secular culture, both because the PLO organizations were of that nature or because of the Lebanese influence, it is possible to see more and more women and girls wearing a veil, youths with beards, and mosques filled with people. While they have no political power, because they do not hold citizenship, they are becoming a threatening factor that could pose a

violent obstacle to the attempt to impose the authority of the state on all parts of Lebanon.

The Lebanese Government is helpless against the broad Iranian activity. As long as Syria is Lebanon's protector, and at the same time Iran's strategic partner, the Lebanese Government cannot block the Iranian penetration. For example, Syria also is apprehensive about the Iranian takeover of the Palestinian refugee camps, after it had succeeded in strengthening within them the factors that oppose 'Arafat and the peace process. However, as long as Syria needs Iran as an ally against Iraq, it allows the continuation of this activity in a controlled manner. Meanwhile, it is convenient also for Syria that Iran becomes the international address for the war on terror, and that the terror activities abroad and the Hizballah's attacks in southern Lebanon are attributed to Iranian, and not Syrian, sponsorship. It may be that Syria believes that when the circumstances change, it will be able to limit or to end this Iranian activity.

But it may be that this belief will not be able to realize itself. Such a large Palestinian concentration, which is being attracted to the Iranian ideology, alongside of which there is an extremist Shiite concentration, are not the kind of things that are liquidated by an order.

Continued Israeli attacks on the Shiite villages, and an impasse in the negotiations with Syria, give Iran another reprieve to deepen its takeover and strengthen its strongholds. When negotiations with Syria and Lebanon develop, in which Israel seeks to obtain a quiet Lebanese front, a situation is liable to develop where precisely the Hizballah organization, as a Lebanese organization, will be ready to obey the rules of the agreement, but against it there will crystallize a Palestinian-Iranian front, which will continue to make its existence remembered by means of firing Katyushas and attempts to attack within Israel, on the model of the days of the Fatahland of the seventies.

Study of Hamas Movement Described

95AA0003C Umm al-Fahm SAWT AL-HAQQ
WA-AL-HURRIYAH in Arabic 16 Sep 94 p 20

[Unattributed article: Dr. Hisham Ahmad's Study Reviewed by Khalid al-'Amayirah: "Hamas: From Religious Salvation to Political Transformation"]

[FBIS Translated Text] This brief study is another systematic attempt to describe and analyze the Islamic phenomenon in Palestinian society by following the growth and development of the Islamic Resistance Movement, Hamas. The study is one more of the growing quantity of studies and researches dealing with the phenomenon of the Islamic rebirth, or Islamic reawakening.

The author—Dr. Hashim Ahmad—prepared most of the study in the first third of 1994, with funding and support from the well-known American Fulbright Program, in close cooperation with the Palestinian

Academic Society for the Study of Global Affairs, headquartered in Jerusalem.

With the use of the scientific method, resembling the method of Western orientalists in studying Islamic phenomena, the author sets out in a concise historical context the roots and origins of the Hamas movement in its parent organization, the Muslim Brotherhood [MB], showing that Hamas did not spring from a vacuum. The MB left its unmistakable fingerprints on elements of Palestinian society in the period of Jordanian rule, and subsequently during the Israeli occupation. The author also indicates that the circumstances of the occupation, suffering, and dispersal that have afflicted Palestinian society, in turn influenced the formation of Hamas's intellectual foundations.

The author attributes the growth of Hamas to the weakness of the PLO, particularly after the second Gulf war, but does not make clear whether there is a specific causative relationship between the growth of Hamas and the weakness of secular forces. Nor does he bring in comparisons with other places, such as Algeria, Sudan, and Egypt, as evidence for his opinion. The author also says that Iran supported Hamas financially, without offering any evidence for that—bear in mind that Israel is the major source of the media reports and intelligence and propaganda-fueled rumors that repeat, day and night, that it is Iran that guides the Islamic movement in the Middle East, including Hamas. So the Arab Islamic movements are imported movements!

The author makes a great many mistakes and contradictions in his interpretation and analysis of Hamas's popularity among Palestinians. As is customary with secular Western researchers, the author looks for social, psychological, and economic factors to justify the rise of Hamas in Palestinian society, while almost totally ignoring the religious and spiritual factors, which are considered the central cause of the Islamic phenomenon, whether in Palestine, Malaysia, or Algeria.

The author asserts on page 25 that many Hamas members are university students or graduates with scientific fields of speciality, and says that the scientific tendency of Hamas supporters encourages the adoption of a position hostile to modernity and contemporary life. This claim is no more than a personal opinion, a sort of whim: How can they be gifted and intelligent, the community against civilization and progress, unless the intention is civilization in the secular Western sense, which erases the lines that separate good from evil?

If that is really the case, then the author has fallen into the trap of failing to distinguish between the idea of modernization and the idea of Westernization. While modernization means industrial advancement, higher standards of living, higher income, and the availability of modern services in various aspects of life, Westernization is the imitation of Western culture both good and bad, and the abandonment of the original culture—

Islam—in the life of Arab and Islamic peoples, among them the Palestinian people. But the author looks to the Japanese and how they rode the train of modernity without abandoning their original culture!

The author says on page 26 that the majority of Hamas supporters come from villages and small towns. This simplistic statement is untrue. It is well known that the popularity of the Islamic movement is increasing faster in the cities than in the villages. One may look at the student election results in Palestinian universities to see that the people of the bigger cities support Hamas more than villagers do. This view has been confirmed by the parliamentary elections in Jordan and Algeria, with residents of the big cities, especially in educated areas, tending to vote for Islamists.

On page 33, the author says that Fatah has joined coalitions with Hamas (against the leftists), thus helping Hamas to grow; this too is a claim not supported by the facts. Fatah and Hamas have joined only very rarely: in a single coalition in the occupied territories, especially after the outbreak of the intifadah in 1987.

The author attempts, on page 45, to claim that Iran assisted Hamas financially, but gives no proof.

On page 56, the author launches a veiled attack on Hamas, saying that the movement does not support democracy, but theocracy (he thinks that the Islamic state is a religious theocracy), and that it does not seek freedom, but compliance and obedience. It does not seek equality but submission: the submission of women to men, and of the poor to the rich. On page 57, the author says that fundamentalism is reactionary and is trying to impose its dominance on Palestinian society.

It is clear that despite the author's attempts to provide some objective appearances, the influence of his fanatically Western opinions on Islam cannot be hidden—they form a basis maintaining Islamic societies in deep poverty, starvation, and political oppression. Add to that the fact that the author did not even go to the trouble of asking questions or engaging in dialogue with Hamas's shaykhs and public figures, to find out whether they want to establish a theocracy. What Westerners say about us is his foundation, and more credible.

In spite of that and despite the fact that it contains a large number of false comparisons, tribal opinions, and prejudice, the study helps to acquaint Palestinians, especially Islamists, with one kind of Western thinking on the Islamic phenomenon. This has as its base the Western countries' historical experience with Christian churches and the profound hardship of Islam, especially in reviving Islamic political life, as has become clear to all in Algeria's experiment with democracy.

Islamic Party Formation Discussed

95AA0003B *Umm al-Fahm SAWT AL-HAQQ*
WA-AL-HURRIYAH in Arabic 16 Sep 94 p 17

[Article by Nur-al-Din Shiraydah from "Nablus Press Bureau"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Two Islamic leaders in Nablus have confirmed that the establishment of the Islamic political party in the autonomous areas will be announced soon and that its presence will be confined to the autonomous areas, though it will expand as that area expands. The two shaykhs, Jamal Mansur and Jamal Salim, said that preparations for the formation of the Islamic party had begun more than a year ago and that the issue of the deportation to Marj al-Zuhur (possibly Adh Dhunaybah) in southern Lebanon had played a role in the growth of the idea of forming this party. The process of studying it lasted several months and produced an abundant study, a blending of Islamic views, wide consultations, and profound discussions, until the idea evolved into a strong direction and a conviction to promote the idea and translate it into a fact on the ground, reaffirming that the proclamation of the party would occur soon in the autonomous areas.

The Islamic spokesmen explained that the Islamic party would consist of a broad-based Islamic political front whose doors would be open to all Palestinian citizens who believed in its ideas and were committed to its program and principles. They affirmed that the party would work with individuals, not groups or blocs, in terms of membership, and that it would proceed with the consultative bases in formulating its positions on various matters and developments, and in drawing up its internal policies.

Shaykh Jamal Mansur stated that "our Islamic movement offers many alternatives for facing all issues and developments, and it also possesses varied working methods. It does not govern itself with a single option; it has several options, and will not paint itself into a corner. It refuses to have its action be a mere reaction to the actions of others; it will hold the reins of every initiative and be ahead of events, notice changes, and monitor events on the ground. The Islamic movement does not live in the clouds. It refuses to be influenced by pressure. It will proceed with firm and careful steps to achieve its ends and to protect its masses."

Addressing the Islamic movement's connection with other Islamic movements on the scene, such as Hamas and the Islamic Jihad, Mansur said that the Islamic party would be independent of all existing parties. It is not Hamas, nor is it the Islamic Jihad, or any other existing faction. It is thus not an alternative to any of them, though it is the right of any Palestinian man or woman, whether an independent or member of any other group, to come in and join the party—even Christians, so long as they believe in the party's ideas and are committed to its program. Every person, he said, has a role in serving the Palestinian people, reaffirming that the Islamic party would define its position and relations with existing political bodies in accordance with its own vision and ideas.

As to the Islamic Party's participation in the upcoming elections, Shaykh Jamal Salim said that the formation of

any political party involves the vocabulary of political life, among which is the existing authority, apart from the position on it, and the extent of its legitimacy, community issues, community rights and crises, as well as existing laws and regulations or change-oriented demands. He said that the issue of elections is part of this framework, and that the party is obliged to explain its position on the elections—to participate or not to participate—in view of its internal policy and the laws it will set out after its formation, disputing the notion that the makeup of any party compels it to be a participant in elections in compulsory fashion. "It is a known fact in the political life of every country in the world that parties participate in elections, and boycott them, and stay aloof from certain issues relating to aspects of political life."

Salim commented on the elections announced for the near future by explaining the view of the Islamic movement, that it seeks the holding of legislative elections to represent the Palestinian people in the occupied territories and abroad, to select a parliament or Palestinian national council, unconditionally, so that the parliament will be the true leadership of the Palestinian people. The only condition would be that the elections be free and fair, and absolutely unlinked to any conditions or other agreements, and free of hegemony or pressure on the part of the Israeli occupier. He reaffirmed that the elections being discussed for the autonomy council are unacceptable in principle, given that their context is the occupation, and that they are therefore subject to its conditions, and thus it is unacceptable that the Islamic movement participate in them.

Turning to the role of Palestinian women in the political party, Shaykh Salim explained that women have had a prominent role in the making of Palestinian history, and are in the front ranks of the people's jihad, and have given numerous martyrs and prisoners. Those who have been killed, imprisoned, and deported are these women's sons, husbands, and brothers, and so Palestinian women would have a distinguished presence in the Islamic party, in its ranks and in its various activities.

Regarding the Islamic movement's position on dialogue with the Palestinian Authority (PA), Shaykh Jamal Mansur said that the Islamic movement has explained its positions on various issues and topics, and these positions are public and well-known by all. What is needed is for the PA to define clear positions on all the issues—the Islamic movement, specifically, and the Palestinian opposition in general have defined their positions—given the fact that the PA's positions on dialogue and public freedoms such as freedom of the press and publication, as well as pluralism, and the freedom of institutions, are still vague. He called on the PA to stop sending mere reassuring signals and to announce its positions frankly, to give confidence to the Palestinian people and its forces. Mansur indicated that the PA's recent practices are contrary to the signals and statements the Authority releases every now and then. Mansur mentioned the arrests the PA is carrying out in

the Gaza Strip, and made clear his disapproval and surprise at them, and his view of the gravity of these practices, which do not bode well, given the PA's claims of democracy, pluralism, and the application of public freedoms. He called for the release of all detainees, saying that the Palestinian people are suffering much from the occupiers' practices, and have suffered enough.

PA Security Force Clash Alleged

95AA0003A *Unim al-Fahm SAWT AL-HAQQ WA-AL-HURRIYAH in Arabic 16 Sep 94 p 8*

[Unattributed article from al-Zuhur bureau: "Sharp Conflicts and Struggles Within Autonomous Authority's Security Agencies"]

[FBIS Translated Text] There has been a recent increase in the publication of statements of criticism and condemnation regarding the many attacks that have led to the killing of Palestinian citizens and the destruction of offices and homes. These statements are constantly being printed in local newspapers. It is a phenomenon Palestinians have fought in past years, in the view that it was the Israeli occupation, through its collaborators, that was responsible for them.

Observers explain the spread of this phenomenon in light of the fact that the autonomous authority's security services are struggling to impose their own domination and control over the region. The struggle is intense, as these agencies are attempting to recruit citizens to this or that agency's side. Internal disputes over the recruitment of people lead to clashes and to conflicts and threats that at times have resulted in killings. There are many examples, most prominently the murder of an official from the Presidential Security Agency by members of the Preventative Security Agency in the West Bank.

The autonomous Authority is attempting, through the multiplicity of agencies, to impose its hegemony on the Palestinian scene; the Authority has turned a blind eye to the excesses of these agencies and refused to intervene on flimsy pretexts and excuses, letting them follow their current disastrous course.

Many believe that 'Arafat is now involved in what is happening, because the outcome has been in his favor. The struggle among the security agencies weakens them and compels them to turn to him when any incident occurs among them. This is the policy 'Arafat is pursuing, with all security agencies remaining in need of him, so that they cannot carry out their work without his personal cover.

It is worth mentioning that the security forces in the autonomous areas are:

1. The Palestinian National Security Forces, to safeguard institutions and offices.
2. The Palestinian police forces, for safeguarding security in the streets.

3. General Intelligence.
4. The Preventive Security Agency.
5. The Presidential Security Agency, for protecting members of the Authority, and the security of 'Arafat and his entourage

There are other secret and unknown agencies, whose names have not been made public, as the autonomous Authority does not wish to make them public at the present time.

Interior Ministry Official Interviewed

95AA0006A Jerusalem AL-BAYADIR AL-SIYASI
in Arabic 24 Sep 94 pp 10-12

[Interview with and biography of Ahmad Sa'id Bayyud al-Tamimi, undersecretary in the Palestinian Authority's Interior Ministry, by Fathi Khamis al-Ja'bari, in Hebron; date not given—first paragraph is AL-BAYADIR AL-SIYASI introduction]

[FBIS Translated Text] On the premises of the League of University Graduates in the city of Hebron, AL-BAYADIR AL-SIYASI reporter conducted this interview with Ahmad Sa'id Bayyud al-Tamimi, the League Council chairman and undersecretary in the Palestinian Authority's Interior Ministry.

[Ja'bari] The governorate has known you as the man for difficult tasks. Can one consider the position of undersecretary in the Interior Ministry of the Palestinian Authority one of these tasks, and where does the difficulty lie?

[Al-Tamimi] There is no doubt that it is difficult to operate under the circumstances we are experiencing, let alone to operate under the umbrella of obstacles and of scarce resources. On the other hand, it is inevitable that one will face difficulties when one is moved from one job to another and from one place to another. However, if one keeps in mind that there is a goal to be achieved, then with strong will, true resolve, belief in one's work, and with accomplishments, one feels that the burden is light when the hardship of every citizen who has lived under the occupation is alleviated. There is no doubt that I am facing difficulties. But with the unity of honorable citizens and of the officials with whom I shoulder the burden, things become easy.

The new phase and developments dictate that we work tirelessly so we can overcome these obstacles with persistent work.

[Ja'bari] Brother Chairman Abu-'Ammar has kept the Interior Ministry for himself. Does your selection to the post of undersecretary give you a special status that distinguishes you from undersecretaries of the other ministries?

[Al-Tamimi] The Palestinian chairman has retained the interior Ministry because provisions of the Palestinian-Israeli accord demand, I believe, that difficult decisions be made by the person who has the decisionmaking power. The fact that brother Abu-'Ammar is the PLO and National Authority [Palestinian Authority] chairman, that he has long experience in security areas, and that he can make the proper decision for the proper affair at the proper time—this fact gives brother Abu-'Ammar the right to retain this portfolio. As for my selection as undersecretary for this portfolio, I believe that brother Abu-'Ammar has been aware of the experience and practical capability I possess by way of what I have offered through a number of institutions and jobs that I have held, especially in the League of University Graduates in Hebron.

Chairman 'Arafat's trust, of which I am proud, motivates me to offer more in the service of our people. I implore the almighty God to give me success in my work and my performance, and I hope that I will be worthy of the high opinion of those who have put their trust in me.

[Ja'bari] The Hebron Governorate has known you as a patient man in hard times and as a very strong man, especially in crises. I will note in particular the massacre at the mosque [Ibrahimi Mosque or Tomb of Patriarchs] and the subsequent bloody developments. You experienced that event and lived with it nationally, socially, and politically. Do you utilize the qualities that you have gained from your experience in the Hebron Governorate in your new job? Is there similarity between the two jobs: the job of an appointed Interior Ministry undersecretary and the job of an unappointed deputy governor volunteering to serve society?

[Al-Tamimi] In fact, whoever wishes to work in any sphere has to have a great degree of patience and of gentleness in dealing with others. From my long experience in voluntary work and from work in the League of University Graduates, which has its special character, [I say that] whoever holds such a position or other [public] positions has to be patient and efficient in confronting developments. One has to interact with the event as one should. The Hebron massacre, the subsequent hot developments in the city, and the developments that preceded the massacre for a long time put all of us to the test. An official's work shows only in hard and difficult times. I performed my duty under hot circumstances in the city of Hebron, and that is what was required of me. The elite in the League of University Graduates selected me and I had to live up to their good opinion of me on numerous political, social, and national issues. The League Council members were fully determined. We participated with all notables and citizens and we underlined the role that had to be underlined.

Those prolonged activities and actions have given us the experience through which we can face all difficulties, regardless of their nature, in any issue whatsoever.

Hardship and living conditions experienced by the Gaza Strip and the Hebron Governorate as a consequence of

the occupation are similar. I have experienced the hardship and the conditions in the Hebron Governorate on the ground and I am now experiencing them in the beloved Gaza Strip. For several days now, I have been holding popular meetings in numerous parts of the Gaza Strip. I have seen satisfaction and pleasure in the people's eyes in the Gaza Strip for meeting an official who clarifies to them the current developments and the accomplishments made.

[Ja'bari] The Interior Ministry consists of numerous sections and is involved in diverse activities. How do you coordinate among all these sections, especially since one of them is concerned with police and the security forces? To what degree do police and security commanders cooperate with the Interior Ministry?

[Al-Tamimi] The fact is that in my work, whether as an employee or a volunteer, I have worked with a team spirit. It has never occurred to me that I am the official in charge and the master over those working with me, and it has never occurred to me to work as a superior or a subordinate. Rather, I have worked with a team spirit. I continue to follow this path now under the slogan that we are our people's servants. We all work to attain our aspirations, each in his field of specialization. It is well known that special agencies follow the Interior Ministry and that these agencies require expertise in certain fields of specialization. I may not claim that I know all these specializations. My mission is to facilitate the task of these agencies so they will be able to perform their role in the best manner. I follow this path and I feel that these agencies are cooperating with me.

Of course, I am in constant contact with the chairman, and I learn from him. He is my model. At the same time, this is my chance to prove to the chairman that he has made the right choice.

To live up to the good opinion the chairman had of me when he selected me for this mission, I employ my utmost effort, patience, and dedication in my work and my relations with others.

[Ja'bari] Administrative procedures, vital statistics, births, and the like are issues that preoccupy the citizen's mind and that are entrusted to the Interior Ministry. Can you tell us about the progress of work on these issues and what are your accomplishments in this regard?

[Al-Tamimi] There is no doubt that this department is one of the most important departments in the Palestinian Authority because its work is connected with public services that touch everybody, beginning with children and ending with old people. Moreover, it issues identity cards and permits. The public suffered from this department during the occupation. When I assumed my new job as interior undersecretary, I devoted most of my attention to this department because the day I assumed the job I found lines of people waiting in front of this department. I have overcome this phenomenon, and I have been able to lift the public's hardship in this regard.

Because this department is intertwined with the other side, I have found that there are obstacles. These obstacles can be surmounted by constant contact through the Liaison and Coordination Committee, by examining the problems and obstacles and mobilizing what is appropriate in order to follow them, and by putting the right man in the right place in this work. This has motivated me to develop new arrangements, to make employee transfers, and to correct the course of this department. This effort has produced clearly positive results in improving this department's performance throughout the Strip. I will continue to improve performance in the future, which will reflect positively on the Palestinian scene through change for the better on the ground.

These are big aspirations and I am working to achieve them, God willing. We are working and we will continue to work. If mistakes are made, we will learn from them and deal with them and, God willing, will achieve good results. We are working within the available resources. We will continue to work and we will not stop. With will, determination, and self-reliance, we can achieve our aspirations. We are the people of hardships.

[Ja'bari] When will you sign the first Palestinian passport, and when will you issue the Palestinian identity card?

[Al-Tamimi] It is well known that the Palestinian identity card was embodied in the PLO. Arrival of the Palestinian National Authority [Palestinian Authority] on the soil and among the people is the primary realization of the Palestinian identity. The documents that follow are no more than steps to facilitate living affairs and contact with the world. Naturally, the documents necessary for the Palestinian identity will be issued.

The National Authority has worked and continues to work so the Palestinian citizen will have an identity recognized by all. The Palestinian people have become a recognized figure in the world. The Palestinian identity and passport are in the final phases. When the legal procedures are completed, the Palestinian passport and identity card will be issued. This will be accomplished in the near future, God willing. This passport will respond to the requirements of crossing the borders and will be in accordance with the declaration of principles. Regarding foreign travel, the accord in force spells out the steps that have to be followed. In the near future, travel will be unrestricted, God willing.

[Ja'bari] Do you enjoy your new job? Are you optimistic about improvement?

[Al-Tamimi] I do actually enjoy my work and I feel that I am making accomplishments that serve the people and alleviate their hardship. I spend many hours at my job to a late hour of the night.

I enjoy my work because it alleviates the people's hardship. I do my duty to the best of my ability so as to serve

the citizen
ment, with
sincere citizens.

[Ja'bari] On the Palestinian scene, there are those who criticize the accord, those who support it, and those who oppose it. There is a majority that believes that it is possible to develop the positive in this accord and to minimize its negatives so it will lead to a Palestinian state in the future. What method do you see to develop the accord toward the better for Palestinians?

[Al-Tamimi] International circumstances, political realities in the world, regional developments, and consequences of the Gulf war have made Palestinian participation in the peace process inevitable. Otherwise, the outcome will be unsatisfactory and painful.

There is a difference in political viewpoints among Palestinian people and notables vis-a-vis the accord. Some support, some oppose, and some criticize it. I understand this difference as a healthy phenomenon that must be dealt with accordingly. There is always opinion and counter opinion that must be heard and respected. One must then proceed with both opinions toward construction, not destruction.

We have been given a skeleton, and we are required to flesh it out. It is for this that we will work, God willing. This goal requires united efforts from all, both authority and citizens, so we will lift the citizens' hardship and will develop the positives of the accord toward the better in order to establish an independent Palestinian state, with the illustrious Jerusalem as its capital, God willing. And until "God accomplishes a matter already enacted" [Koran 8:42].

[Box, p 11] Biography

- Ahmad Sa'id Bayyud al-Tamimi was born in the city of Hebron and is one of the city's best young men. He interacts with the event when it occurs. Ahmad completed his high school education in Hebron and his college education in Lebanon's universities. He has held numerous administrative jobs in Jerusalem's Islamic Waqf Department, the latest of which was director of Jerusalem's Islamic Orphanage.
- Al-Tamimi was elected as a member to several sessions of Hebron's League of University Graduates. He was then elected chairman of the League Council, a position which he still holds.
- He was elected as a member council treasurer to the Executive Committee of the Supreme Islamic Council. Al-Tamimi is also a member of Hebron's Alms and Charities Committee.
- Ahmad al-Tamimi displayed extraordinary courage; exerted great effort; and reacted responsibly to the massacre at the venerable Ibrahimi Mosque in Hebron. He took part in all rescue and information activities and extended a helping hand to the needy.

95AF0006A Algiers EL WATAN in French
31 Aug 94 p 1

[Article by Hocine Mokrane: "Arms Traffic: Another German Network"—first paragraph is EL WATAN introduction]

[FBIS Translated Text] Although often denied by German officials, the existence of a German arms dealing network supplying Algeria is increasingly confirmed in the field. Algerian terrorists seem to have expanded their activities on their host country's territory.

Can there be more overwhelming evidence than the "Sig Sauer" pistol—a meticulously registered service weapon—seized on an Algerian terrorist? After an investigation, German authorities confirmed that the weapon in question "was stolen last 22 February at 1400 in Wiersen, North-Rhine Westphalia, from a policeman named Klaus Ridzenfeld Jungen."

This information, published yesterday by our security departments, is part of a large operation aimed at dismantling an arms traffic network operating from Germany toward France and Spain. At the same time, large quantities of ammunition and communication equipment were seized on the Algerian-Moroccan border.

The investigations carried out both in Algeria and in Germany made it possible to identify the man who had stolen the "Sig Sauer" pistol. He is Mechat Adel, who took refuge in Germany with one Lounici Djamel, a well-known name in arms traffic from Germany.

That same individual has already sent to Algeria 10 pump guns and three Kalashnikovs intended for Said Mekhloufi's group. The shipment is said to have been diverted to the GIA [Armed Islamic Group] at the Algerian-Moroccan border.

This new seizure of foreign arms by the security department is actually just the umpteenth episode in this kind of traffic, which every time originates on the other side of the Rhine.

Last May, an Algerian was arrested in France as he was transporting an arsenal of weapons and explosives in his car. This is known as the Boutrif case.

A few days later, a large shipment of arms and communication equipment was uncovered in the hold of the cargo ship El Djorf. The cargo in question had been acquired by Djamel Lounici and loaded in Hamburg with the complicity of an agent on board the ship.

Closer to home, last May, a group of two Algerians and six Moroccans was arrested by the king's security departments. They were meeting at a villa on the Atlantic shore, in Kenitra. Thirteen submachine guns and 12 infrared sights were seized.

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Simultaneously, turning Germany into a... that country is host to over 1,100 FIS [Islamic Salvation Front] sympathizers and 200 fundamentalists deemed dangerous.

Rabah Kebir and Abassi Madani's sons still pursue their activities in spite of the several "warnings" issued by Bonn authorities.

Slain GIA Leader Identified

95AF0003D Algiers EL WATAN in French 12 Sep 94 p 2

[Article signed "K.D." and APS: "Terrorism: Abou El-Haitem, One of the GIA's Emirs, Slain"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Derkaoui Abdesmad, known by the nickname "Abou El-Haitem," the emir of one of the Armed Islamic Group (GIA)'s groups that was active in the Bab-Ezzouar and Dar El-Beida area, was killed last Saturday by police, a communique issued by security forces announced yesterday.

In a search operation carried out by police in the Dar-El-Beida region, two terrorists were killed and their weapons recovered. Dead are Derkaoui Abdesmad, 31, a resident of Beni-Rached in the wilaya of Chlef, who had been sought for the murder in the university's parking garage on 31 May 1994 of Salah Djebaili, the rector of Bab-Ezzouar University. The victim's driver and bodyguard were also killed in that attack.

The second slain terrorist went under the name of Rourab Abdelkrim and lived in Rouiba, security forces stated. At the conclusion of this operation, two automatic pistols and a stolen scanner were recovered.

Furthermore, last Friday security forces killed two terrorists at the Boussedraia douar in the town of Bougara (Blida wilaya). Dead are Benroussa M'hamed and Zerouali Ali, both residents of Oued-Slama (wilaya of Blida). Two hunting rifles were recovered.

In the same wilaya, four other terrorists were killed last Thursday in the town of Bougara and two hunting rifles recovered.

In M'Sila, in the place commonly called "Oued-Harirou," security forces on Thursday killed three terrorists, two of whom have been identified as Hadroug Saad (27) and Ouali Kamel (28). One PM-AK, one Mat-49, and one hunting rifle were recovered.

Last Tuesday, two terrorists were killed in a search operation in the Thouabet region (Dellys, in the Boumerdes wilaya). Dead are Benachour Sofiane (18) and Abderrahmane Mohamed (29).

Finally last Tuesday security forces killed a terrorist in "Jolie-vue" (Kouba, Algiers wilaya). He has been identified as Barkat Fouad (25).

'Terrorism' in Town of Chebli Detailed

95AF0002B Algiers EL WATAN in French 20 Sep 94 p 3

[Article by Karim Dali: "Chebli: Village of Death"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The village of Chebli, situated 30 km south of Algiers and 22 km north of Blida, is completely at the mercy of the terrorist groups. Fires, assassinations, property destruction, sabotage, extortion, and death threats are the daily lot of the inhabitants. Desperate, battered, and abandoned to their fate, a group of villagers have sounded an urgent SOS in their heartbreaking account. Their cruel nightmare has lasted two years now.

With tears in his eyes and trembling hands, the young functionary who insisted on remaining anonymous told us that "Chebli has no one in charge of security. There is neither police station nor gendarmerie detachment. We were left to our own devices when the terrorists some time back chose [us as] their favorite stomping grounds. In Chebli, armed groups are operating with complete impunity in the absence of the security services." Since the interruption of the electoral process, says another citizen, a multitude of young FIS [Islamic Salvation Front] militants in the region have joined guerrilla groups in the area. "Their first criminal act was to set fire to the new telephone center, an ultramodern installation inaugurated just a few days before the disaster. Then came death threats, in the form of letters addressed to citizens opposed to the ex-FIS, regularly followed by executions. Six townspeople have been assassinated in broad daylight."

Military units were dispatched after the carnage. They were deployed to the former CAPCS [Communal Multi-service Agricultural Cooperative] and the road leading east out of town. Unable to circulate freely as before, the terrorists set up a network of informers and lookouts run by ex-FIS militant leaders in the eastern and western parts of Chebli. These latter keep in their employ petty criminals and notorious thieves whose mission is to keep watch over the movements of military units and targeted townspeople. The young official, a father and family man, tells us: "When the soldiers were here, the inhabitants felt more or less secure. Unfortunately, after a presence of six to eight months, they departed, leaving the village of Chebli in the hands of the terrorists."

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In a choked voice, our interlocutor asks one of his companions to finish the story: "Misfortune soon became the lot of the poor citizenry, the fellahs, the merchants, officials, and even simple agricultural laborers with sons in the national service. The minimum sum demanded is 500 Algerian dinars for merchants, 3-400 for fellahs, and 150-200,000 for those with children in national service." The method used is the following: The targeted citizen is approached by two individuals pointing "mahchouchas" (shotguns with sawed-off barrels) aimed at his head.

"Never taking more than two minutes to carry out their mission, the terrorists tell their victim: 'You have two days to pay, otherwise consider yourself dead. And if you try to flee, a member of your family will be killed, and if you file a complaint, we will know,' the townsman explains. Despite that, he adds, a few victims have had the courage to file a complaint with the gendarmerie detachment in Birtouta.

For the last three months, the terrorists of Chebli, who are known to the inhabitants, and their network of about thirty informers—who are paid from the proceeds of the extortion rackets to which the populace is subjected—have been circulating openly and setting up barricades in broad daylight, right in the middle of town. Many inhabitants have simply pulled up stakes, abandoning their land, businesses, families, and even children. Close to two months ago, the terrorists intercepted a taxi in which a young military conscript was riding with his father. Thinking they had been stopped by plainclothes policemen, the old man explained that he was accompanying his son to the military garrison.

Realizing what was happening, the young soldier tried to flee. The terrorists fired on him and wounded him in the leg. Coming up to him, one of the terrorists finished him off in front of his father, ignoring the latter's tears and supplications. The whole village witnessed this horrible scene. Then came the wave of arson: The facilities of DUC, SORECAL, and the former SNMO [expansions not given] were put to the torch, throwing hundreds of people out of work.

Also, on the night of 21-22 July, the terrorists and their henchmen set fire—for the second time—to the Chebli APC [People's Communal Assembly] and all its annexes. Records dating back more than 140 years were destroyed. The cultural center, the bureau of veterans' affairs, the central pharmacy, the sheds and storerooms of OFLA [Algerian Fruit and Vegetable Office], the EDGA commercial center, the storerooms of the APC, the tax offices, and the post office were all burned down.

With only a few days to go before schools reopened, the same individuals put to the torch two CEMs [colleges of intermediate studies], thus depriving the students of an education. The town today is like a graveyard. The fire-gutted shells of government and privately owned vehicles are scattered all over town. Not a day passes without an assassination or a new act of malicious

destruction. Just two weeks ago, a taxi driver transporting four young conscripts from eastern Algeria was intercepted by armed men at the western entrance to Chebli. They forced the young soldiers to follow them to the place called "Elouz," where they were slaughtered.

A fellah met the same fate, along with two other townspeople, one of them a taxi driver and the other an employee in the tax office. Some 40 innocent victims living in the town of Chebli have been viciously assassinated in the last few months. Several days ago, these same terrorists gave the order to their watchers and thieves to plunder everything belonging to the state. In broad daylight, telephone lines were ripped down from the poles and walls. Underground lines were also stolen, and proceeds from the sale of these products go directly into the pockets of their chiefs.

Aslaoui Explains Why She Stepped Down

95AF0003C Algiers EL WATAN in French
21 Sep 94 pp 1, 5

[Article signed "S.B.": "Mrs. Aslaoui: 'Be Silent or Leave'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] We met a woman of conviction yesterday. She was faithful to the image she has always presented of herself, with her certainty at having reacted by resigning from the government quite simply because she had to not in the least shaken.

Mrs. Aslaoui, who was composed and stronger than ever, even if a decision of this sort is always hard to make and unavoidably has aftereffects, stated that she was now "at peace with my conscience" and in keeping with "my struggle against fundamentalism, which I shall pursue with the same determination."

Ever since her resignation was announced last Saturday and officially confirmed that evening in a communique from the office of the head of government, Mrs. Aslaoui, as a judge who abides by the rules of law and legal process, has declined to make any statement to the press.

"I respect the rules pertaining to the need for restraint, but public opinion has the right to know the reasons I resigned from the government so as to avoid any misunderstanding and any attempt to reverse my decision to leave the government," she told us. "I am not waging war against anyone," Mrs. Aslaoui continued, adding that her departure was brought on by the fact that, in acting as she did, she would "completely sever herself from the dialogue process that has begun that currently seems to be moving from a dialogue toward being negotiations with the fundamentalists." She refuses, she says, to support such a measure because "I would have to renounce my convictions and my determination in the struggle against fundamentalism and terrorism."

Dialogue, she continued, "should take place to the disadvantage of neither democracy nor on the backs of the victims of terrorism and their families." "How today

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ment's being able to negotiate with the very people who are responsible for so many deaths, so much spilled blood, and so many tears?" she asked. "I'm not against the idea of dialogue: anything that can help stop the spilling of blood and hasten the return of civil peace should be encouraged; we're tired of burying our dead and counting them," Mrs. Aslaoui emphasized.

Rather the path taken by the dialogue in recent days comforts her in the opposite way, that is, that with these latest measures the country has gone off on an adventure whose end no one can predict. "To whose advantage and to whose disadvantage are these negotiations and concessions being made?" Mrs. Aslaoui asked. The former state secretary for solidarity and the family denies she is hostile towards dialogue, as her detractors have suggested. Just as she chafes at the label of "eradicator" which some have linked to her name. "The Islamic current is a reality in our society," she emphasizes, adding that this current is already represented in the dialogue.

As to the timing of her decision, she explains it this way: the job of a minister is essentially political, she says, believing that it would be a heresy to want to behave as a neutral party or reduce one's mission to that of a mere technocrat, given the specific economic conditions the country is experiencing.

In other words, Mrs. Aslaoui could no longer be silent in the name of government solidarity in the face of what she views as a serious drift that could clear the way for all sorts of adventures.

Above and beyond her known commitment in the struggle for democracy, one that is not brand new, Mrs. Aslaoui sets forth a problem of conscience, indeed one of "intellectual honesty." "As members of the government, our mission was to explain the objectives of dialogue; since I was not convinced this dialogue was moving in the direction of the commitments that had been made in this area by the government, I would have ended up defending positions that were contrary to my convictions," Mrs. Aslaoui stated. Pure and simple. Furthermore, she made no attempt to hide the fact that she gets her information on the dialogue from the press.

Neither the words of the "trust us!" variety that were meant to reassure her to assuage her concerns concerning the current progress of the dialogue and make her retract her decision nor the interpretation and use that some of her peers wanted to give in private of her resignation have shaken her conviction that a politician, when he does not agree with a program in all its dimensions that he is supposed to defend, should be silent or leave. For her part, she preferred the second solution. "I am willing to believe that the government's steps regarding the dialogue is underpinned by a strategy, but I'm not a strategist, and as a citizen I do not have the right to sanction a plan whose precise details I don't know," she stated. Mrs. Aslaoui appealed to the government: "Is it

terrorism to forgive?" "Those who speak of forgiveness have certainly never approached these children!" Mrs. Aslaoui answers.

You can't quarrel with that.

Doctors Found Sponsoring Armed Groups

95AF0002E Algiers EL WATAN in French 22 Sep 94 p 5

[Article by Nabil Anani: "Bab-Ezzouar: Doctors Headed Terrorist Network"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A large network providing medical support to armed groups active in the Bab-Ezzouar region and Dar El Beida has been dismantled by security forces. The terrorist group was allegedly behind several assassinations, including the rector of USTHB [expansion not given], Salah Djebaili, and Professor Djilali Belkhenchir, it has been learned from reliable sources.

The brains behind the group was a general practitioner from M'Sila named Thabet el Aouel Mohamed, aka "Hami." This physician, supported by his accomplices, notably Ben Cherif Mohamed, Belaboueb Lokman, and Ben Youcef Farid, was responsible for financing and providing logistical support for the network. The primary mission of the medics' ring, run by one Lafri Khaled, 40, an osteologist (specialist in bone pathologies), was to care for terrorists wounded in action. At his office in El-Harrach, Lafri treated more than 45 cases—including, most recently, Amrache Yazid, one of the terrorists who allegedly participated in the fatal attack on Salah Djebaili, rector of the University of Bab-Ezzouar.

That assassination, according to the same sources, was planned at a meeting at Lafri's home, the same place where plots were hatched to assassinate Smail Yefsah, the ENTV journalist killed in October 1993, and Mehdi Abbas Allalou, president of the opposition Popular Association for Unity and Action (APUA). Allalou survived an attack last May, according to the same sources.

Lafri also had ties to Cherfaoui Ahmed alias "El Hadj" (age 60), who reportedly served as coordinator between various armed Islamist factions. Meetings attended by such people as Mohamed Said, Redjam Abderezak, and Brahimi Mustapha were often held at his residence. Before his arrest, Cherfaoui was in constant contact with one Fedad El Ayachi, who relayed information back and forth to terrorist groups in Saudi Arabia.

In addition to his ties to Cherfaoui, Lafri Khaled worked closely with other doctors and professors, including Lemdjadani Nour-Eddine, 40, Moulay Mohamed Said, and Belhamri Messaoud. The latter reportedly participated with Bouzina Abdellah and Ait-Amour Bachir (who was killed) in the assassination of Djebaili Salah.

Bouzina, 24, is the son of a magistrate. His uncle was a candidate in the 26 December 1991 legislative elections.

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Bouzina Abdellah is currently being sought by police. His accomplices—Chekima Ali, Rebihi Faycal, Metiche Farid, Tekhnouni Abdellah, Sidhoum Salah-Eddine, and Madani Rachid—are still at large.

Background on Slain GIA Leader Cherif Gousmi

95AF0003B Paris LE MONDE in French 28 Sep 94 p 5

[Article from AFP. "The Threat of a 'Total War'"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Without naming them, Mr. Sifi accused "political leaders" of using "language (amazigh) for political ends." In a communique M'henni Ferhat rejected Mr. Sifi's charges. "Only the state president is empowered to take specific steps," he replied. "We are waiting for the Berber language to be recognized as a national and official language," he added as he appealed for a boycott of the reopening of universities on 1 October.

The kidnapping of Matoub Lounes took place at the same time there was a resurgence of the activities of armed Islamic groups against political militants, journalists and intellectuals, and foreigners. So on Monday, a member of the (excommunist) Ettahadi movement, Abderrahmane Fardeheb, an economics professor at the University of Oran, who was preparing to leave for France to teach at the University of Grenoble, was killed by gunfire as he left his home.

The Death of an "Afghan" Chief

On Monday security forces announced the assassination of two new Algerian journalists (LE MONDE, 27 September). That same day, a Bosnian national, Jure Markicevic, a geometer who worked for the Bosnian Energoinvest company, was killed in his car near Skikda, in the eastern region of the country. And that brought to 61, 17 of them Frenchmen, the number of foreigners assassinated in Algeria since September 1993.

Furthermore an official communique announced that the head of the Armed Islamic Group (GIA), the most radical of the armed Islamic groups, had been killed on Monday in the Algiers region. According to reliable sources, Cherif Gousmi, called Abou Abdallah Ahmed, died in a violent shootout with police in Saoula, in the capital's southern suburbs. On Thursday the GIA lost another two of its leaders, Si Abdallah, alias Abou Meriem, and Ali Kouider Benyahia, called Cheikh Boualem, killed by police in Biska, in the southern part of the country, and Tipaza, near Algiers, respectively.

Cherif Gousmi, 26, had been named head of the GIA several weeks after the death of Mourad Si Ahmed, alias Djaafar El Afghani, who was killed by police in February in Algiers together with nine of his deputies. He was the "caliph" of the government whose makeup the GIA announced in August. A self-educated man and a former grass roots former Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) militant, he had been the imam of a prayer room in Birkhadem, in a southern suburb of the capital.

After having been named to head up the GIA, this "Afghan" had headed up first its legal commission then the "army of death" that was in charge of executions in the Algiers region. He was close to Omar Leulmi, who in a fatwa (religious decree) had made the murder of intellectuals legal. By taking over as head of the GIA, Cherif Gousmi had yielded the running of the "army of death," made up basically of veterans of the Afghanistan war, to Djamel Zitouni. The latter is suspected of having organized the attack in Algiers on 5 August that took the lives of five Frenchmen, three of whom were gendarmes. Having been appointed Cherif Gousmi's deputy, he had yielded the command of the "army of death" to Ali Kouider Benyahia, who was killed on Thursday.

In the name of the government, which two weeks ago had released the five main leaders of the former FIS—among them Abassi Madani and Ali Benhadj—Mr. Sifi said that he was "determined to pursue relentlessly his firm plan against murders and acts of sabotage perpetrated by armed Islamic groups, for the benefit of the citizen and to preserve the national patrimony."

In a statement also signed by the four countries applying for membership (Austria, Sweden, Norway, and Finland), on Monday the European Union's member states said they were pleased with the measures that had been taken to resume the dialogue between the government and the former FIS. In their opinion, it is necessary that all parties take part in the dialogue "so as to bring about political reconciliation and reestablish stability so that life can resume its normal course, without the constant threat of terrorist violence."

Bio on Reported GIA Leader Mohamed Said

95AF0003A Paris LE MONDE in French 4 Oct 94 p 6

[Unattributed article: "A 'Political' Chief Named To Head the Armed Islamic Group"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On Sunday, 2 October, as some 100,000 demonstrators were parading through the streets of Tizi-Ouzou, the "capital" of the Kabyl region, calling for the recognition of the Berber language and demanding the release of singer Matoub Lounes, the Armed Islamic Group (GIA), in a communique from its Majliss ech choura (advisory council) sent to the Algiers bureau of AFP, announced that it had selected a new "emir" for itself in the person of Mohamed Said, a native of the Greater Kabyl region and a former leader of the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS).

Considered one of the Islamic movement's main "brains," Mr. Said, whose political profile is decidedly very different from that of his predecessors, replaces Cherif Gousmi, alias Ahmed Abou Abdallah, who was killed one week ago by security forces. The longtime head of the provisional executive committee (BEP) of the former FIS, Mr. Said won over the GIA four months ago.

Before him, all of leaders of this network, which is the Islamic movement's most radical and most violent, had profiles that were more like "gang leaders" or desperadoes. This was true of Moh Leveille and Djaafar El-Afghani, both of whom were killed by security forces. This "military" function will henceforth be assumed by Djamel Zitouni, Mohamed Said's main deputy. The 26-year-old leads Katika El Maout (the Army of Death).

An advocate of "total war" on the government and hostile towards any compromise with the "impious military junta," the GIA, which has made a name for itself with its murders of foreigners and its recent threats against schools, has, in the past six months, tried to give itself a more "political" image. After having given itself a Majliss ech choura in May, at the end of August the GIA announced the formation of a "caliphate government" made up of about ten ministers and led by Mohamed Said.

On Sunday this same Majliss announced its determination to pursue a jihad (holy war) against "miscreants" and "establish God's law." Among these "miscreants" is the singer Matoub Lounes, whom the last GIA newsletter, EL ANSAR, termed an "enemy of God" and a "symbol of depravation and debauchery in the Kabyl region." While not openly calling for the kidnapping of the musician, the GIA stated he had been captured by mujahadin (fighters) and that his car had been recovered "in the Bouira region, the home of the GIA's bastions."

Mohamed Said, a Strategist Intellectual

A former professor at the Institute of Islamic Sciences in Algiers, Mohamed Said, whose real name is Lounis Belkacem, acquired a modest reputation for himself beginning in the 1980's thanks to his sermons at the Al Arkam mosque. But it was only in June 1991 that this young intellectual, a member of Sheik Ahmed Sahnoun's Islamic League, made his entrance onto the political scene: following the arrests of Abassi Madani and Ali Benhadj, the two main "stars" of the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS), Mohamed Said declared himself the president of the movement.

Several months later, in December 1991, he was elected outright in the first round of legislative elections. At that time he had distinguished himself with his virulent harangues in which he appealed to Algerians to "prepare to change their clothing and eating habits."

One month later, after the interruption of the electoral process, he went underground. Sentenced in absentia to ten years in jail, in April 1992 he rejoined the Islamic underground, taking over the running of the FIS's Provisional Executive Committee (BEP) before winning over the ranks of the Armed Islamic Group (GIA) in May 1994.

About 40 years old, and with a round face and a black beard, this reserved man, a native of the small village of

Ait Sidi Athmal in the Greater Kabyl region, is considered one of the key members of the "Algerianist" wing and one of the Islamic movement's principal strategists.

EGYPT

New Horizons for Economy, Foreign Trade Sought

Trade Office Opened in Washington

95LD0004A Cairo AL-AKHBAR in Arabic 22 Sep 94 p 3

["Good Morning" column by Sa'id Sunbul]

[FBIS Translated Text] The United States always tries to promote its own interests, which lie in the private sector. The U.S. administration uses all its efforts to develop and promote the private sector. When U.S. President George Bush was in office, he visited Japan to pressure its government to open the Japanese market to American cars. Bush took with him on this trip the chairmen of the three major automobile manufacturers in the United States—General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler. These companies are fully owned by the private sector. The U.S. administration does not own a single share in them. President Bush volunteered to promote the interests of these companies not because he was getting a commission or something in return. He did it because he believed that the ability of these companies to grow and prosper will serve the U.S. national economy.

When President Bill Clinton succeeded President Bush in the White House, he did the same thing. He contacted the Saudi officials in Riyadh and sent some of his ministers there to persuade them to deal with American companies and buy American products. The U.S. President succeeded in his efforts. Saudi Arabia signed a deal to buy American aircraft worth \$10 billion. It also signed a deal with another American company for \$4 billion to modernize its telephone network. Saudi Arabia signed these deals with companies that are fully owned by the private sector. Nevertheless, the U.S. President put all his weight behind these companies to win these huge contracts, because he believes that these companies serve the U.S. national interest.

U.S. Vice President Al Gore visited Cairo at the beginning of this month to attend the UN Conference on Population and Development. He made a special point to meet with representatives of the private sector in Egypt. Gore met with James Pringle, chairman of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce in Egypt, and his deputy Shafiq Jabr. He also met with Farid Khamis, chairman of the Association of Egyptian Industries, and Association member Jalal al-Zurba. During these meetings, the U.S. vice president underlined his country's policy to encourage the private sector and noted the possibility of establishing broad cooperation between the two countries through the private sector.

U.S. investments in Egypt are small compared to the scope of U.S. foreign investments. In an attempt to attract U.S. investments, the American Chamber of Commerce in Egypt has decided to open a trade office in Washington to provide information and publicize the possibilities and opportunities for investment in Egypt. Shafiq Jabr has left for Washington to complete the arrangements to open this office. He says: We will not be content with strengthening the relations between us and the United States, but will try to make Egypt the Americans' gateway to the Middle East and Africa.

Minister on Economic Reform Goals, IMF

95LD00048 *Catro UKTUBAR in Arabic*
25 Sep 94 pp 14-17

[Interview with Economy and Foreign Trade Minister Mahmud Muhammad Mahmud Bayyumi by UKTUBAR editorial staff, compiled for publication by Muhsin Hasanayn and Muhammad Najm; place and date not given—first seven paragraphs are UKTUBAR introduction]

[FBIS Translated Text] When the economy minister entered the conference room, accompanied by the magazine's chief editor and carrying under his arm a thick file full of papers and documents, we expected the interview with him to be as hot as the temperature outside during that time of the day. Reports showed that the temperature then was 34 degrees Celsius. The thickness of the file suggested that the minister had much to tell us. We, on our part, carried some papers with many questions we wanted to ask the minister.

Our expectations proved correct after three hours of talk. The interview was important and useful. Nevertheless, we found that there were many issues we have not discussed. They would require more interview sessions. Most of the issues that the economy minister and we raised during the interview were topical. They have been regularly featured in the various media and in public and private meetings. The people have also dealt with these issues before and after the start of the economic reform process. However, what was new in this interview was the link that was made between the various issues. Some people believed that these issues were like separate, distant islands joined only by a big stormy sea. Tackling the deficit in the state budget and the balance of payments, bridging the gap in the trade balance, implementing monetary and financial reform, controlling the rates of inflation and unemployment, and completing the infrastructure are all connected issues like the links in a chain. All ultimately aim at improving the Egyptian citizen's condition and raising his standard of living.

In his familiar frankness, which characterized this interview, the economy minister affirmed that there is no sense in any reform that does not improve the situation of the people. We are not tackling the structural faults in the economy to win medals from international institutions. The purpose is to prepare the ground to create job opportunities for every citizen in Egypt, he said.

The minister affirmed that the differences in views between the IMF and Egypt have begun to narrow, and agreement between the two is imminent, particularly after IMF officials have understood Egypt's views and become convinced of the strength of the Egyptian economy. The Egyptian reform program is considered unique in the world.

The minister affirmed that the Egyptian people can build their country with their savings. Egypt possesses all the possibilities to become a world investment market. He said that the government will not change its policy not to intervene administratively to fix exchange and interest rates. He noted that the Central Bank has intervened often to stop the dollar from falling. Had it not been for this, the dollar would have dropped to two Egyptian pounds.

Regarding the export policy, the minister said exports are essential, and we will not be able to survive without them. He said that Egypt has asked many countries, including Korea, Indonesia, and Hong Kong, to lend their experience in the field of export promotion. He said that an international company of experts is currently preparing a comprehensive strategy to develop exports.

Let us begin reviewing what took place in our important interview with the economy and foreign trade minister:

[Chief editor] First, it is our pleasure to welcome Economy and Foreign Trade Minister Mahmud Muhammad Mahmud. We have been waiting for this meeting for a long time. The minister's busy schedule has prevented him from fulfilling a promise he made to us several months ago to pay his first visit to UKTUBAR magazine. Before we begin our interview with him, we would like to hear from him first about his ministry's policy and what has been accomplished so far in the various fields.

[Mahmud] I am happy to be among you today. This is, in fact, the first visit I pay to a press office. It is an honor for me to be here. There are many issues and ideas on which I would like to speak to you today. But first, I would like to begin with the most important issue of current interest to us all and on which Egypt's survival depends. It is the issue of economic reform. It might be necessary to emphasize that the primary goal of the reform process is the Egyptian citizen. The effects of Economic reform should be evident to the Egyptian citizen in his work, house, and standard of living, and in finding work for himself and his children.

In order to understand how much was accomplished in the field of economic reform, it is necessary to acquaint ourselves with the situation that existed before. Egypt had suspended payment of all its foreign obligations. It was unable to support importers and the banks and could not repay any debt that was due. The Central Bank was after every dollar to fulfill urgent commitments to repay some \$800 million annually in interest on the U.S.

military debt. If it did not pay, the United States would stop its aid to Egypt completely.

The Egyptians, led by the businessmen, were in a pessimistic mood. President Hosni Mubarak was the only optimistic person among the 60 million Egyptians. Through his penetrating ideas and profound faith, he was confident that economic reform and progress would take place. Amid this most difficult crisis he insisted that work on the infrastructure be completed in order for the reform process to begin at the appropriate time. Egypt was experiencing an unmanageable balance of payment's deficit. We had to meet with the IMF and reach an agreement to solve this crisis. At first, Egypt was unable to reach any agreement with the IMF. Then the Gulf crisis and Iraq's invasion of Kuwait took place. President Mubarak won the world's respect and confidence as a result of the basic position he adopted unhesitatingly in defense of justice. This position led influential countries in the IMF, such as France, Britain, and the United States, to intervene in favor of Egypt. We succeeded in concluding a historic agreement with the IMF that had no precedent except in the case of Poland. Our debt was reduced by 50 percent under reasonable and acceptable terms. Egypt accomplished this great feat because of its position and President Mubarak's distinguished relations with the world leaders. The agreement coincided with another important step—the cancellation of the U.S. military debt, which amounted to \$7 billion. The military loan was a burden weighing on Egypt's back that carried a fixed interest rate of 14 percent. This was at a time when interest rates had dropped steeply. The cancellation of the debt removed a big burden. This perhaps confirms that foreign policy serves economic policy. It also answers the allegations made by some people about our interest in foreign policy.

The minister continued his review of the economic reform process saying that it began in 1991 in an easy, restrained, nonprovocative manner, thanks to the distinguished performance of the economic group at the time. The people were convinced of the need for reform, for which there was inevitably a price to be paid. The price in most cases was somewhat painful.

The minister reviewed the situation before the economic reform program was launched, pointing out that the budget deficit in 1991 was more than 20 percent. The inflation rate was 27 percent. The balance of payment's deficit was \$4 billion. The deficit in the balance of trade was about \$11 billion. We had no foreign currency reserves. Today the situation is different. The budget deficit has dropped to about 2.6 percent, and there are plans to reduce it to about 1.6 percent. This is a miracle by all standards. Inflation is 6 to 7 percent.

Perhaps we should dwell briefly on the last figure. Some people question its validity when there are complaints about high prices. The answer simply is that this rate was calculated in the same way in which previous inflation rates were calculated. The principles have not been

altered. We agree on the need to review the list of commodities according to which the rate of inflation is calculated. Nevertheless, the present inflation rate is a good indicator of progress, because the calculation method has not changed. Why have the people not felt the drop in the inflation rate? This is because the economic reform process also involved the cancellation of subsidies to many commodities. The subsidy cancellation was necessary in order to accomplish monetary and financial reform. The basic requirement of any reform is to produce goods at economical cost and not to sell them below their cost. I am certain that had it not been for the economic reform program, prices of goods would have gone up even higher and conditions would have worsened. I am confident that the economic reform program is proceeding in the right direction.

The balance of payment's deficit after the economic reform program turned into surplus. The latest figures indicate that the surplus has reached \$3 billion. The question is how did this happen? The answer is that we have attracted savings, because we lifted restrictions on interest rates and on foreign currency transactions. The people's confidence in our banking system has strengthened. The foreign currency that poured into Egypt from June 1991, when the economic reform process began, to last August reached about \$64 billion. This exceeded our expectations and is in excess of our needs. It is a good testimony to our monetary and financial reform. The Central Bank has also managed to accumulate foreign currency reserves of about \$17 billion. Several comments have been made about this figure. Some people say that this money is frozen and should be used in investments. Actually, this money does not completely belong to the Central Bank, but constitutes part of its revenues. The money is used in many ways. This foreign currency reserve was established to secure Egypt's economy. The money constitutes a reserve for future investments, which have been estimated at 120 billion pounds. These investments require a foreign currency component.

Regarding the trade balance, there is a deficit of about \$7 billion. This is the basis of the economic problem. This is the real challenge facing us, particularly after we have succeeded in our efforts to reform the monetary and financial systems and the Egyptian economy has become ready for lift off. However, regrettably, the terrorist incidents in the past two years have impeded this lift off. These terrorist incidents have no connection with our religion, character, or traditions. Internal security is basically importance for Egyptian economic growth. Egypt is fully qualified to become a world investment market, and it possesses all the resources for this.

[UKTUBAR] What about the unemployment problem, which is considered one of the most important problems affecting the Egyptian economy today?

[Mahmud] Yes, we do have an unemployment problem. The purpose of economic reform is to create jobs for all

the people and to raise their standard of living. Any economic analyst in the world can see, in the case of the Egyptian economy, that there is need for a two-prong infrastructure. The first pertains to roads, transportation, and communications. The second—which is no less important—pertains to monetary and financial reform. No real development or reform can take place, nor can we create jobs for the Egyptian people without this infrastructure. The Egyptian economy's principal and urgent objective is to create jobs for everyone. This is a basic and extremely important principle in our policy. Official statistics show that there are 1.5 million unemployed Egyptians. This is in addition to about 500,000 Egyptians entering the labor market every year. It is estimated that every job opportunity requires about 50,000 pounds in investments. This means that in order to solve the unemployment problem, we need between 100 and 120 billion Egyptian pounds in investments. This figure is not alarming and can be arranged through local savings and Egyptian foreign currency savings at home and abroad. This is in addition to investments which we can attract from the Arab countries and the world. Money is no longer a problem. The Egyptians can build their country by their savings. The problem is if such investments take place and projects are established, where will the production go? The local market cannot absorb all the production. For this reason, production for export has become essential. We cannot survive without exports. This is not the problem of a minister. It is a national problem. It is the problem of the government and the people.

[UKTUBAR] Much has been said about the exchange rate. It is being said that the Egyptian pound is overvalued. There were rumors recently that the IMF has asked Egypt to devalue the pound in order to promote exports. What is the truth in all this, and what is the story of the dollar and the Egyptian pound?

[Mahmud] It might be necessary to cite a fact about the foreign exchange market, which is that the Central Bank has never intervened in this market except to defend the dollar. Had it not been for this, the dollar value would have dropped to two pounds. We should ask ourselves: What would the consequences be if the dollar rate were allowed to drop? Would that be in the interest of the Egyptian economy? Do we need additional export obstacles? What would happen to tourism if the dollar rate dropped in such a way? The most important advantage we can offer the tourist now is to change his dollar for 3.38 Egyptian pounds. This factor attracts tourism. Our economy will face numerous problems if the dollar rate drops.

There is another important factor. The Central Bank has set a ceiling for money changers and banks that buy and sell foreign currency. They cannot keep foreign currency beyond this ceiling. This is designed to prevent any bank or money changer from colluding and keeping excess foreign currency. We can imagine what these establishments would do if they have surplus funds. It is obvious

that they would either sell the foreign currency to anyone who wants to buy it to meet his various obligations or sell it to the Central Bank. If the Central Bank refuses to buy it, dollars will flood the country. Therefore, it was necessary for the Central Bank to buy the surplus foreign currency in the market. You can imagine what the situation will be if the \$17 billion held in reserve by the Central Bank circulated freely in the market.

[UKTUBAR] What is your comment on rumors that the pound will be devalued against the dollar?

[Mahmud] The rumors that have circulated in the market in the past month about the government's intention to devalue the Egyptian pound have caused the dollar rate to rise to 3.44 Egyptian pounds within a few hours. We succeeded quickly to bring the situation under control. Many speculators, including money changers, suffered big losses. They have learned a lesson. Regarding the rumors about the intention to devalue the Egyptian pound, the simple and logical answer is: Who determines the value of any commodity? Is it not the principle of offer and demand? If there is offer and no demand, prices drop. The opposite is also true. Therefore, give me one reason to make us devalue the Egyptian pound. The offer of dollars, which we receive from many sources, is greater than our demand. Why then, should we raise the dollar value. Furthermore, the principles of the new game are not to intervene in the exchange market and leave the rates to be determined according to offer and demand. Why intervene now when we allowed the market factors to operate? If anyone wants to confirm what I am saying, he can go to any bank or money changer and ask to change pounds into dollars and to have the money immediately transferred abroad. Has anyone tried to do this and found any difficulty? There are no restrictions on changing any amount of money into foreign currency. This is unprecedented in Egypt. When the people realized that there is complete freedom to buy and sell foreign currency, they did not attempt to transfer their money abroad. Instead, the flow of foreign currency into the country increased. The government has announced more than once that it will not intervene to fix the foreign currency rates. No administrative order has ever been issued by the economy minister or the prime minister to fix the dollar rate, because we believe that greater freedom will produce greater confidence in the Egyptian economy.

[UKTUBAR] Who is spreading such rumors?

[Mahmud] The rumors about the devaluation of the pound began on the pages of some opposition papers. But, thank God, these papers have begun to review their position and to understand the situation. Regarding the future of the Egyptian pound, I can confirm that the foreign exchange market enjoyed its most beautiful days in the past two years. This is despite the fact that no one is happy about the trade deficit and the volume of exports, that revenues from tourism have decreased because of terrorist incidents, and that the interest rate

on Egyptian currency deposits is higher than on foreign currency—although it has dropped from 20 percent to about 11.5 percent. These three negative factors should have resulted in a decrease in the inflow of foreign currency. Instead, the inflow has continued because of confidence in the Egyptian economy. This is what happened in the past two years in spite of the adverse conditions. Imagine what can happen to the Egyptian pound when all these conditions improve, and they have indeed improved? The Egyptian pound's future is certainly good, especially as efforts are underway to increase exports. The export situation will never be as bad as it used to be. We have recently issued 25 decrees, which are bound to improve exports. Even if the export situation does not improve, it will not worsen.

The interest rate on Egyptian currency deposits is much higher than on foreign currency. I can confirm once again that the future of the Egyptian pound is good and secure. I do not foresee any negative factors—worse than those that have already happened—affecting its value. Regarding reports that the pound should be devalued to promote exports, this is theoretically correct, and could be true in the case of industrially advanced countries. However, it is not suitable in Egypt's case as a developing country. Our exports are limited. We will not benefit from a devaluation of the pound. What is more important is that if we devalue the pound, our imports' bill, estimated at \$11 billion, will rise steeply. This will ultimately affect people with limited income. Therefore, we must concentrate on improving the quality of our products in order to compete in world markets instead of devaluing the pound. Furthermore, we cannot devalue the pound because the people will lose confidence in our economy.

[UKTUBAR] The devaluation of the Egyptian pound, therefore, was not a rumor, but one of the IMF's demands?

[Mahmud] It is necessary to explain the nature of Egypt's relations with the IMF. We negotiate with the IMF, but we do not necessarily have to always agree with it. We often had differences with the IMF. It is free to accept our views or reject them. It is sufficient to note that the IMF, for example, gave us 400 million special drawing units. We have not yet utilized any of them. We are not in need, and we do not want to add new burdens. No one can ever tell Egypt what to do and not to do. We listen, discuss the issues, and accept what will be in the interest of Egypt and its people, whether the IMF likes it or not. We are continuing the economic reform process because it is in Egypt's interest. Egypt has chosen this course not to please the IMF, but because it is necessary to reform the Egyptian economy and achieve the people's interests. We are fully satisfied with the measures that have been taken, and will continue on this course. The Egyptian Government's logic in not devaluing the currency is strong. For this reason, the IMF has begun to reconsider its position and to understand Egypt's views on the issue.

In the past the Central Bank fixed the interest rate, and no bank was permitted to deviate from it. Now banks are free to set their own interest rate according to their situation, available liquidity, and market activity. A close connection exists between the exchange rate and the interest rate. Therefore, we cannot reduce the interest rate by an administrative decision.

Actually, the gap between us and the IMF has begun to narrow. The credibility of the Egyptian decisionmaker has been enhanced and reinforced. The IMF experts are aware of the strength of the Egyptian economy. They have praised the success of the economic reform program in Egypt, which is unique among the developing countries. This is also regarded as a success for the IMF, and is an impetus to it to persist on this course. The unique Egyptian economic reform experience is currently being used as an example in the world.

[UKTUBAR] Is agreement with the IMF necessary in order to continue the reform process or is there no link? Will we continue the reform process whether we reach agreement with the IMF or not?

[Mahmud] I can confirm now that agreement with the IMF is imminent, and that the differences in views are minor and not as big as you might imagine. I do not want to view matters in black and white. I, however, can confirm that we will continue the economic reform process.

[UKTUBAR] Why have we asked a foreign company to prepare for us a comprehensive strategy to promote exports when we ourselves know very well what the problems are and the solutions? Will we have to wait until this strategy has been prepared before we can take serious steps to reform the export sector?

[Mahmud] Our interest in exports began to increase about 11 months ago. We have been trying to create export awareness, and there is a higher committee on exports. The president himself has been following the situation to remove any obstacles facing exports. There are countries that have been successful in the export field. It is not a shame for us to learn from their experience in this field. We do not have to apply the same experiences. We can choose what is suitable for our situation. International experts are currently undertaking this task, without any cost to us. The U.S. Agency for International Development is paying for it. The Agency gave us a list of specialists in this field, and we have selected one. We have also asked several countries, such as Korea, Hong Kong, and Indonesia, to lend us their experience in developing exports and overcoming bureaucracy and other problems to enable us to make the appropriate decision in this regard. Nevertheless, we did not remain idle, awaiting the report of the international experts on the export strategy. We have taken steps to remove export obstacles, and adopted many decisions to simplify measures. These included the cancellation of the form (T.S.), which caused many problems and led to many prison sentences being issued against exporters.

We agreed with the attorney general to release the jailed exporters and stop the execution of sentences issued in absentia against others. Letters have been sent to the attorney general in this regard, and he responded favorably. Another obstacle we removed was to stop intervening to fix the prices of export goods. We gave exporters absolute freedom in this regard. The prices' committee assumed an advisory role. The exporter was free to take its advice or not. We have also abolished the export quota system.

[UKTUBAR] We think that banks should have a new and different role in the future. They should change from "financial traders" to investment banks?

[Mahmud] The main role of the banks is to receive deposits and provide the necessary funds for new development projects or the expansion of existing ones. Providing the necessary funds for investment is investment. What is the difference between sharing in a project and extending loans for it? The issue is to secure the necessary capital for economic and development activity. The Egyptian banks have not failed to do this. For example, I will give you some figures as specific indicators. The banks have provided foreign currency loans for various projects. They are providing \$160 million for tourism, \$400 million for electricity, \$200 million for the aluminum complex, and \$400 million for private oil projects.

[UKTUBAR] But we think the stock market is a better source of finance. We have, as an example, the pioneering experience of the Bank of Egypt and the role of the distinguished economist Tal'at Harb, who established most of the companies that exist today?

[Mahmud] It does not matter whether you get the money through the stock exchange or the banks. What is important is to have the necessary money for investment. The money in the banks belongs to the people. It represents their deposits and savings. We must be careful in using this money. It is true that our banks are in a strong financial position. But, in the final analysis, they are establishments for the accumulation of money and not business enterprises. Regarding the Bank of Egypt, although the bank was an economic enterprise, it was considered a political enterprise at the time, because of the circumstances in which it was established. People were saying that the Egyptians are not suitable for the banking business, and that as an agricultural country, no industry can be established in Egypt. Tal'at Harb faced the challenge and established many big industrial companies. The conditions and climate have changed. Tal'at Harb was successful in establishing a management school from which many qualified people have graduated, and are now holding most of the leading positions in the fields of banking, industry, and tourism. However, regrettably, there is a shortage of such qualified cadres. Most of the problems facing the investment activity and the failures that take place in some companies are mainly caused by weak management.

[UKTUBAR] What is your comment on the problem of bad debts that some companies and institutions have in certain banks?

[Mahmud] This is an old difficult problem. It requires time and study to arrive at a solution that will satisfy the interests of all the parties. Several suggestions have been made to solve the problem. The most important is to end the existing entanglement between the companies, the banks, and government institutions. For example, contract companies need money from government institutions, and banks need money from contract companies. We need to solve this problem. The accumulation of these debts was not deliberately done, particularly by the public sector companies. This is because at certain periods, these companies were asked to sell their products below cost, and to take on unneeded workers. The state, in return, gave them loan guarantees to borrow money to end the deficit that normally happens when expenses exceed income. This period is over. All the companies are currently being managed on economic basis. We have given an assurance that the banks will be the first to receive what is owed to them when companies are sold, because the money belongs to depositors, and we must safeguard it.

[UKTUBAR] We have a question regarding the investment funds. Aren't they similar to capital investment companies?

[Mahmud] God forbid. It is true that they are similar to the capital investment companies. But they are totally different in the way they are managed. These are shareholding companies managed by qualified expert people. Their funds are invested in stocks and bonds on the stock market. They must invest in a variety of stocks and bonds to spread the risk and achieve the biggest possible gain. These funds were enthusiastically received by the people. One of these funds was oversubscribed within two weeks. Investment funds exist all over the world and are not an Egyptian invention. They are regulated by law. The law gave individuals, banks, and insurance companies the right to establish investment funds. The law also set a ceiling for every fund and provided many guarantees for investors. The most important of these guarantees is the right of investors to get their money back with the accumulated profit at any time they want. For your information, many of these funds will be established in the coming months.

[UKTUBAR] We have heard and read about a new law pertaining to bank checks designed to enhance the use of checks as instruments of payment. When will this law be issued?

[Mahmud] A new proposed bill on checks is under consideration. The problem, however, is changing business methods. Transactions are currently being carried out through credit cards, travelers checks, and automatic teller machines. These are new methods fully respected by all the parties. In the past, transactions were carried

out through mutual agreement and verbal promise, irrespective of the amount of money involved, which sometimes reached millions of pounds. We wish we can return to this situation—that is, each side to honor his commitments. Generally speaking, the situation regarding checks is better today. Sentences have been handed down in many cases in which defendants wrote checks without having credit.

[UKTUBAR] Regarding economic groupings, is there any intention to enter the so-called Middle Eastern market following the failure of efforts to establish an Arab or African economic grouping?

[Mahmud] We are in the era of economic groupings. Small entities cannot survive amid giant entities. For example, the United States, which is the largest economic power in the world, has established an economic alliance with Canada and Mexico. There is also the European Union, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, and other groupings. The current trend in the world is to move toward joint cooperation. We cannot lag behind what is happening around us. We are currently negotiating with the European Union to establish joint cooperation. This would benefit Egyptian exports by opening new markets for Egyptian goods.

There is nothing official yet about the Middle Eastern market. Everything that has been said about it is tantamount to ideas and theories. In my opinion, if a decision is made to establish such a market, Egypt and the Arabs must play a prominent and leading role in it. This is our area. We have interests here, and we are the majority. It should also be noted that Egypt was the vanguard in peace, just as it was in war. Now it must lead the process of development in the area and reap the fruits of its efforts and sacrifices in war and peace during the past decades.

ISRAEL

Hang Glider Defense System Initiated

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[Article by T. Alon: "Antiglider"—first paragraph is BITA'ON HEYL HA'AVIR introduction]

[FBIS Translated Text] A number of special radars for locating hang gliders were set up along the line of the northern border in the past year closing the latest breaches in the realm of the detection of aircraft and hang gliders operated by the terrorists. Ever since the night of the hang gliders, indeed no aerial penetrations into Israeli territory have been recorded, but the ease of operation and the use of hang gliders make it necessary to reinvent the wheel every time. The new system was developed in the United States, in accordance with Air Force specifications, and closed the latest breaches in the realm of detection.

The defense of the country's skies from hang gliders differs from defense from aircraft and is, perhaps, even more complicated. The vessels serving the terrorists are simple accessories, completely sportive, that anyone can purchase in a store and even put together at home. The hang glider is made of simple materials, and there is no need for an airport or any outside help in order to fly with it. They simply decide and operate.

In the year 1980, a balloon was downed holding three terrorists, a few meters from Kibbutz Minre. In March 1981, two terrorists in a pair of hang gliders flew directly to Haifa Bay with the intention of bombing refineries. Only by a miracle was a serious disaster prevented. One of the morals from the "night of the hang gliders," in which two terrorists penetrated Israel in air gliders, killed seven soldiers and wounded 10, was that anti-aircraft forces would be permanently stationed on the system fence of the northern border. In the seven years that have passed since then, seven years in which the anti-aircraft forces have been on the Violet Line, not a single aerial penetration into the territory of the State of Israel has been recorded.

Hang-glider radar, a special radar that was developed in the United States, according to Air Force specifications, and was put into operational use about a year ago, has closed the latest breaches in the realm of detection. After an experiment in which the new system was checked, a number of detection positions were spread all along the line.

Every position is manned by a team of seven to eight anti-aircraft soldiers under command of an officer who have undergone special training, and it constitutes its own unit, supported by the Vulcan battery. One of the distinguishing advantages of the hang glider radar is that its operation is not influenced by visual conditions. The new radar, in addition to the observation means and night vision that existed previously, enables an optimal closure of the northern border from hang glider penetration.

Along with the hang glider detection means operated by the anti-aircraft fighters there is also an extensive intelligence and warning system from various sources. One of the daily warning sources regarding aerial penetration is the residents of the north, who have already learned to be aware of the subject. Thus it happens that a female resident from 'En Barukh, for example, who saw a plastic bag fluttering in the air, starts up the entire sector and increases the rate of heart beats of those directing the Vulcan. Instead of the slogan dominating it being "if there is doubt, there is no doubt," such cases occur every day.

"During Operation Accountability," recalls Lt. Col. Tzviq, anti-aircraft regimental commander in the north, "the police commander of Qiryat Shemona summoned me to report regarding residents who saw hang gliders. After we started up all of the forces, it turned out that the residents saw the katyusha flashes and thought that they were hang gliders."

Another source of the infinite false alarms are the birds. A bird soaring in the sky is very similar to a hang glider. "We are aware of the migration seasons," says Lt. Col. Tzviqa, "and the soldiers are briefed accordingly."

In order to train the soldiers in the proper identification of targets, the antiaircraft formation prepared a video that demonstrates how the targets appear in the day and at night. It turns out that there are different ways to differentiate between a hang glider and a stork.

The hottest times at the antiaircraft outposts are between last light and first light. These are the times when a human eye finds it difficult to see at a distance. The darkness is total, and even the lights of Metula will not light up a small, compact hang glider. The sunsets and sunrises are indeed stunning in their beauty, but it is these hours that are the tensest for the antiaircraft fighters. It is clear, if so, that the critical stage in the defense of the country's skies from hang gliders is the detection and identification stage. A delay of a few seconds in detection could be deadly. Every second is important. "On the fence it is our success, beyond the fence, it is their success," says the regiment's soldiers.

And what happens when the radar is triggered? The entire sector is lit with daylight, and more than once readiness forces have been sent to settlements, and settlements and central axes are closed. On Shavu'ot last year, when the whole country was traveling in the north, a hang glider warning was received and immediately, as expected, there was great confusion. When it turned out that the hang glider was no more than a strange bird, the mood calmed down. In any case, as stated, if there is doubt then there is no doubt, and apparently the storks will continue to trigger the northern sector.

The activity on the Violet Line demands the highest operational capability and vigilance. Despite the fact that the antiaircraft soldiers are replaced every few months in this state of readiness, the long stay at the line, with the tension and the dozens of triggers stills wears on everyone. The routine, even if it is not really routine, is the worst enemy. One of the most productive means for preserving the soldiers' high level of operational capability is to go on ambushes in Lebanon, where the operational emphasis is also on hang glider detection. The Vulcan regiment indeed serves as a land unit, but the goal of the ambush is pure antiaircraft activity. Forty-eight hours before going on an ambush they begin strict preparations, briefings, studying of maps, and memorizing procedures. Right before the departure, a debriefing is held, and anyone who is not skilled enough remains behind.

Also on the night that we toured the antiaircraft outposts a regimental ambush was located on the border of the security strip. With the nightfall, the regiment commander received an announcement that the ambush was ready and in place. "A company that carries out such activity," says Lt. Col. Tzviqa, "contributes to the

defense of the northern settlements, breaks the routine, and, of course, will be better prepared for combat."

The white nights, the warnings, and the nightly triggers are not sufficient in Lt. Col. Tzviqa's opinion. Every night he tours each antiaircraft outpost, a tour that starts at midnight and concludes around four in the morning. "We are educating the soldiers that they must jump to the weapons in any situation, even with a towel straight from the showers. First of all you must be ready, afterward dry off."

At four in the morning everyone is already awake. In the morning hours they take care of the weapons and the outpost, and every fighter trains in his field. In the afternoon it is possible, and recommended, to grab a few minutes of rest, because it is reasonable to assume that this is all you will get. At two in the afternoon they begin training and enrichment lessons. During the years, the fighters are situated alternately on the line and in the territories, where they carry out normal infantry activity. "When we complete the activity on the line, we will go down to Gush Qatif," says 1st Lt. 'Amit, commander of the Vulcan battery. "In actuality we will barely have a month left for training, and therefore, we use the available times at the outposts for training."

At five in the afternoon they already begin to prepare for the night. As darkness begins to fall, all of the soldiers are at their positions. The sun lights the Hermon with a red light, and slowly the lights come on in the settlements, Israeli and Lebanese. For a moment it looks like we just came to see the view. Gradually, total darkness prevails in the region, and suddenly a challenge and noise. The soldiers run while getting organized and immediately three projectors pierce the night sky, searching and searching.

One very quickly understands that all of the triggers in the world and all of the methods for escaping the routine do not equate with the cause for the primary motivation of everyone who is here: the knowledge and the understanding that you are truly needed. Or as 2d Lt. Yanay, hang glider radar officer said better: "If I fall asleep, a number of families in Metula are liable to disappear." Yanay is also the one who revealed to us that summer is considered the best time to do the line, as the regiment soldiers say, and not just because the winter is terribly cold here. In the summer, how could we not have thought of this, the days are long and the nights are short, and for whoever makes the night into day, it is simply ideal.

The antiaircraft battle is one of the shortest battles in the army, and, therefore, the most important capability of the antiaircraft formation in general, and of the northern outposts in particular, is the speed of response. Life on the outpost is conducted by this motto. Every moment you must be prepared to jump to your place, to forget everything else, and concentrate on one goal. In the beginning you have to invest thought into this, but within a short amount of time it turns into a conditioned

reflex with all of the soldiers: There is a challenge—you leave everything and run. In the end, in the six months that they spent at the northern border, they will be made to jump from every possible place. No one, it turns out, gets excited any more: "The pace of events is so rapid," says Lt. Amit, commander of the Vulcan battery, "that there is no time to sit for three days and be glad about 'how quickly we reached our positions.' One minute after the event, we already go to the next event."

In order to succeed in frustrating any aerial penetration attempt into the territory of the State of Israel, there must be cooperation between the antiaircraft and the rest of the Israel Defense Forces (IDF). In order for there to be effective cooperation, there must be a high awareness among all of the ground forces operating in the territory, and in general this is a South Lebanese Army.

"In order to succeed in preventing any aerial penetration into Israeli territory, we must emphasize to all of the elements the possible dangers connected with a hang glider penetration," says 2d Lt. Tzviq. "We are living together with greenhorns in some of the outposts, we sit together in discussions and pass along intelligence information to one another. True that this adds a lot of false alarms for us, but we prefer false alarms to real penetrations."

Even the soldiers in the field are aware of the importance of cooperation. Corp. Uri from Ramat Hasharon is operating hand glider radar for the first time on the Violet Line: "We sat down to eat dinner on Friday and suddenly they initiated us. We had to increase our search sector, because there was a warning without an exact location. In order to find the location, we had to work opposite additional units. In such a situation everyone is helped by everyone else in order to find the target."

Every soldier remembers dozens of similar cases, many nights of tension and anticipation. And, despite this, the veterans say that this is one of the quieter lines that they remember. "If this is quiet," says one of the young soldiers, "what is a tense line?"

Golan Withdrawal, Return to Jaffa Compared

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[Article by 'A. Karmel: "The Return to Jaffa"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In 1989, at the height of the intifadah, Defense Minister Yitzhaq Rabin said in a meeting of the Labor Party bureau that he ordered the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) to treat Palestinian demonstrators with a hard hand "because there is a difference between us and RATZ [Citizens Rights Movement]." A number of years have passed, the difference "between us" and RATZ has vanished, and on the eve of the last holiday there was even clearer proof of this. In the same forum, the same Yitzhaq Rabin called toward a settler from the Golan Heights, who claimed

that he and his friends were fighting for their home: "What would you say to the Palestinian who was forced to leave his home in Jaffa 46 years ago, after he and his ancestors had lived in the place for 700 years?"

There is no doubt, only a donkey does not change his opinion. There is also no doubt that Rabin who speaks of "700 years" does not demonstrate historical knowledge or adherence to the facts. But there is also no doubt that the Rabbinical crushing question cannot remain in space on its own. Even if it appears to the prime minister and his devotees that this was a wild "entry," the young, excited sister for all of the "spoilers" and "poodles" and "propellers"—this piercing question returns to the questioner, himself: What exactly do you, prime minister of Israel, a man who delights in standing at the head of a Zionist party, say to that same Palestinian from Jaffa?

One possible answer—one such that must be whispered secretly, so that your good friends from MERETZ do not hear—is that the Palestinian from Jaffa interests you like a garlic peel. A house-not-a-house, you say, perhaps—there was a war, facts were determined in the field, and whoever set the man on fire must pay for this. If this is the answer, what is your complaint about the residents of the Golan Heights? If this is the answer, why do you suddenly remember the Palestinian from Jaffa (who, by the way, was not "forced" to leave but responded to the call of his leaders)? Another possible answer is that you are repenting and confessing. In addition to your minister of media and science, you think that the law of limitation on our rights in Israel has been imposed, and, therefore essentially, right is with the Palestinian from Jaffa. After 46 years, he deserves to come home (in political language, his "right of return" must be effected. After 46 years, therefore, the Palestinians from Shaykh Munus deserve to return to the neighborhood known to you, Neve Avivim. And, naturally, in light of such a terrible approach, after "no more than 27 years of living in the Golan," as you took pains to emphasize, the settlers must get rid of the nurseries and the IDF must bring down the tanks.

The possibility that the prime minister of Israel is shaking off the basic Zionist perception is very troublesome—approximately like the additional possibility, the last in the count. It could be that Yitzhaq Rabin came to the Labor Party building, saw the Golan settlers before his eyes, and shot straight from the hip. Without thinking of the meaning of the words coming out of his mouth. Without dealing with the conclusions resulting from them. Without wasting energy on political and security considerations. Without relating to anything beyond the upcoming vote in the Knesset. Blessed be he who thinks that this possibility is not realistic and is not likely to return again and again.

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Training of Congolese Troops

95AA0004B Tel Aviv MA'ARIV (WEEKEND SUPPLEMENT) in Hebrew 7 Oct 94 pp 1-6

[Article by Yosi Walter: "Shahaq in the Congo"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A (Weekend Supplement) reporter went looking for Israeli mercenaries in Africa and found a bunch of nice guys there along with the son of the next chief of staff.

Everyone you stop today in the streets of Brazzaville, the capital of the Congo, will tell you with absolute confidence that General Zikhrin and his 700 Congolese soldiers could conquer Africa if they only wanted to. In the Congo, you have to understand, they do not just say these things, they really believe them. Every newspaper report, every picture, every television spot strengthens the locals' belief that the Israelis have established a strike force here that no one could withstand. In general, they talk here a lot about Israel. They treat Gen. Zikhrin and Col. Boro (their nicknames for Brig. Gen. [res.] Ze'ev Zikhrin and Ha'im Boro) as if they had mystic powers, as if they were omnipotent.

Because of this attitude, there is also an Israeli twist to the hottest story this month in Brazzaville. A force trained by the Israelis in a military camp deep in the jungle went to the capital two weeks ago to replace veteran soldiers guarding the President. The veterans, in camouflage uniforms, did not like the idea and set up a roadblock to stop the new force.

The two forces stood eyeball to eyeball. Old Kalashnikov rifles against new Israeli Galils. For several long minutes it was just a war of nerves. Those in camouflage garb scrutinized the ones standing opposite—spit and polish soldiers in Israeli green uniforms—with terrifying eyes. Those in green responded with quiet glances. In Africa this is known as the "pose" stage. Each side flexes its muscles, parades its uniforms, insignia and weapons, and waits for the opponent to lose his nerve and fold. But here the pose did not work. Those in camouflage garb understood very quickly that they were dealing with people so sure of themselves that they did not have to parade it. Something in the stance of the greens, in the way they held their weapons, in their calm, and perhaps also in the fact that they were trained by Israelis persuaded the guys in camouflage that it was not worth their while to mix it up these other guys. Thus, when the commander of the greens signaled to them with his hand to move aside, they moved out of the way without saying a word.

On the way from where it happened to the local media, the story got blown up to mythic proportions. At each stage people would add their own embellishments, limited only by their imagination. In the end it was reported by the news agencies that soldiers trained by the Israelis rioted in the streets, causing President Pascal Lissouba to instruct the army to restore order.

We checked into the story, and it turned out that it was far from the truth. It may be that the President said the

things attributed to him, but he certainly was not talking about the force trained by the Israelis. He knows very well what those boys are up to every hour of the day. They are the ones who surround him with a dense security cordon, subject to a strict military regime, under the watchful eye of the Israeli who trains them. And our great guys in the Congo hold them close. They are not allowed to move a finger without authorization. Those who violate even a single disciplinary instruction are booted out of the force, to return to their former life somewhere deep inside the jungle.

The Israelis Enter the Picture

It has been half a year since the story of the Israeli activity in the Congo broke in Israel. At the time, Brig. Gen. (res.) Ze'ev Zikhrin and Ha'im Boro, who was once office chief for the head of the Shin Bet, were described as mercenaries, using the services of young discharged servicemen to take part in the civil war that raged between loyalists of President Lissouba, who was elected in democratic elections, and the opposition. When the rumors were looked into, it turned out that the Israelis were involved exclusively in training soldiers, who were to become the backbone of the new army that President Lissouba was trying to set up.

From this viewpoint the Congo is no different from the rest of the states of Africa. The president, democratic though he may be, does not trust the old army. When he won the elections more than two years ago and replaced the Marxist dictator Dennis Saso, Lissouba found a pitiful army of about 17,000 soldiers, who operated according to Soviet doctrine. They manned the ground forces, the air force and the navy. Even in African terms it was not an army, it was a joke.

The Congolese army's air force included several old MiGs. What was called a navy was no more than a number of dilapidated ships that were rusting away and had not been operated in years. The ground forces' battle experience was no more than occasional shooting at elephant hunters, who stole across the border from neighboring Zaire. They also had tanks, but they were on their last legs and were kept on bases like white elephants.

Lissouba, who wanted to upgrade his army, turned to Zikhrin and Boro's Israeli firm and asked them to build a new army for him, one that would be well-trained and capable of propping up his regime, or, as he put it: strengthening democracy in the Congo. The bottom line: The president wanted a force that would be loyal to him and would replace the veterans that he did not trust.

Meanwhile the president is not touching the old army, but the tactic is well-known. He would already start to hang them out to dry until they had all scattered and their places had gradually been taken by soldiers from tribes loyal to him. This is a common exercise in the African states. Everyone relies on his own clan.

Lissouba Is Satisfied

It was Lissouba's good fortune that he fell into Zikhrin and Boro's hands and not into the hands of people who

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Boro and Zikhrin have given the president the same advice: the president treated the Israelis as virtual oracles on the matter of security, and asked them what he had to do and what he had to buy to build his army. In this situation the Israelis could have exploited his lack of experience to open up the IDF [Israel Defense Forces] junk yards and sell him tanks, planes and warships, with the Israeli seal that carries a lot of weight in many parts of the world.

Boro and Zikhrin chose to play fair. They disabused the army commanders of their fantasies of a large, well-equipped army. The Congo, they stressed, is not threatened by any of the surrounding states. Instead, they submitted a proposal to Lissouba to build a small, qualitative army based on mobility, speed and flexibility. Instead of tanks, they are equipping the army with jeeps and command cars. Instead of warplanes, the air force will get some transport helicopters that will form the basis for a real helicopter wing with all the accoutrements. All of this, it must be remembered, of Israeli manufacture. Vehicles are arriving in the Congo directly from the assembly plants in Nazareth. Supply helicopters, that were in use by our air force, will bring a nice profit to the Defense Ministry's coffers. To all of this must be added the personal equipment that the soldiers receive: shoes, berets, uniforms, belts, bullet-proof vests, helmets, grenades, Galil rifles, Uzi submachine guns, pistols for the president's bodyguards, rifle sights, night vision equipment and scopes, all manufactured by Israel Defense industries.

We can look at this story in several ways. It might be claimed, for example, that Zikhrin and Boro are businessmen whose goal is to make money. But when you look at the Congo adventure in depth, you come to the conclusion that this was yet another step in Israeli development. Every country exports what it has. Defense knowledge is something that Israel has in abundance.

"If we did not do this, others would have jumped at the opportunity. Israel is good at defense. So what do they want—to have us export seminary students?" asks the manager of the corporation, Ze'ev Zikhrin.

A Zionist Approach

Boro and Zikhrin could have purchased all the equipment they brought to the Congo from other places in the world, and perhaps at better prices than they got in Israel. They are careful to funnel all their orders to industries in Israel. Thus far the Brazzaville government has purchased weapons and equipment to the tune of about \$9 million. Over the next few years the scope of the deal will reach \$25 million and more. Beyond the immediate profit, this deal is an infusion of vital blood to the defense industry in Israel, that has not gotten too many orders in recent years.

Boro and Zikhrin see this deal as a pilot project that opens doors to further deals in the Congo, a country that, in terms of its natural resources, is the land of Africa's unlimited possibilities. It has almost everything: oil,

diamonds, rubber, coffee and mango plantings, and tropical vegetation. To a certain extent, the Congo is virgin soil. It is three times the size of the State of Israel, with a total population of 2.2 million. Today, after learning to appreciate Zikhrin and Boro, President Lissouba is eager to make deals with Israel.

Lissouba first got to know Israelis when he was 12. He was then working in an agricultural farm near the port city of Pointe Noire and appreciated his teachers, the Bible and the Jews. Today, after half a year of joint endeavor with the Zikhrin and Boro firm, his appreciation of Israeli honesty has grown. Lissouba, who earned two degrees at the Sorbonne, in botany and plant genetics, is trying to raise the Congo, a state that was formerly a French dominion, onto the road to progress. He knows what the French did to the Congo. In unofficial conversations he accuses them of sucking the country's marrow and taking over its resources. The French, he claims, deliberately left the Congo in a backward state because that served its business goals.

After he gained power, Lissouba turned to the French and asked them to train his army. The French did not jump at the opportunity, so Lissouba turned to Zikhrin. The French finally got their act together, but they had already missed the train. Lissouba gave the contract to the Israelis and now gushes with satisfaction. Boro and Zikhrin are pushing the project hard. In a country whose motto is "Malamba, malamba" (Easy does it!) this sort of project cannot be managed by remote control. He has to be in the field, to shorten procedures, to shout when necessary.

Thus, for example, Zikhrin set up a meeting with a senior official in order to iron out some issues. It turned out that the man's broad education, his prolonged studies in Britain, his fluent English, and his command of the works of Shakespeare had not affected his attitude toward time. He, too, works on Africa time. Zikhrin waited a long hour for him, and when he saw that the man was not coming to the meeting, he decided to go out and look for him. He found him on the sport field, practicing kung fu with a Japanese general. Zikhrin put on a deliberate show. He raised his voice and berated the man, who turned pale and learned his lesson. Ever since he makes sure to appear at meetings on time.

This effort is bearing fruit. Lissouba sees the results in the field. He sees well-trained soldiers, equipment that arrives on time, and he does not mince words in praising the Israelis. He told us over and over again at the training camp in the middle of the jungle that the Israeli bunch is doing a tremendous job.

In the Land of the Mamba

Last week I returned to the Israelis in the Congo to check up on what is happening with our great guys. A silvered Dakota landed me on a dusty landing strip near the town of Anqai, in the heart of the jungle. The place is near the

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...Loudima, a strip of land on the banks of the M'banzi river, a 45 minute trip from the landing strip. Endless fields of sugar cane, thick forests, mango trees, tangled undergrowth, clay homes and children peeking out curiously, all reminded me of the Africa of the Tarzan films. Since my last visit to the region, the training camp had been move from its old location in Oberville to a camp that once served as a center set up by Norway for absorbing refugees from Namibia.

"The first day we did not see the houses," recalled Lt. Col. (res.) Israel Ramot, the tireless commander of the training camp. "The area was covered with tall growth and mamba snakes."

This word, "mamba", terrified us every day of our visit in the camp. The mamba is a small green snake, about 60 cm long, whose poison is particularly lethal. It attacks quickly. If it strikes you, your chances of surviving are slim. The poison is so lethal that it can kill a man within a few minutes. During the first few days, after the undergrowth had been cut, the snakes were confused and swarmed all over the area of the camp. One of them was taken out to be killed in a very impressive ceremony at the entrance to the room in which Zikhrin would usually lodge when he was visiting the site. The truth is that it is very unpleasant to sleep knowing that this creature could make a nighttime visit to your bed. But our guys in the camp have already gotten used to the thought, and they do not hesitate to go outside, even at night. "Anyone who can live with Hizballah has no problem adjusting to the mamba," they will tell you in the famed "authoritative" Israeli tone of voice.

In this camp the Israeli guys train 650 Congolese recruits. Alongside the basic training exercises, they have also introduced courses here in communications, maintenance and nursing. From this force of recruits the best have been pulled out. They have been consolidated into a special force that will constitute the Presidential Guard.

The Guard is composed of two circles: the far circle, that secures the palace and institutions of government and the near circle, that encompasses the president personally. The men of the near circle go through special training, supervised by a senior Shin Bet man recently retired. This group undergoes a series of firing drills with a mini Uzi and with pistols, hand to hand combat and specialization in various defense methods, on Israeli models. This is in every way an elite unit. Zikhrin and Boro make sure they also feel that way. In training they dress in black hats and shirts emblazoned with the name of the unit. They stick the mini-Uzi and pistols in their belts and strut around like proud peacocks. Each of these Personal Guardsmen was issued a suit, a watch, and "Ray Ban" glasses, a present from Boro and Zikhrin.

The first meeting with our boys in the Congo, about 50 in number, was arranged on the evening of Simhat Torah. It is a cliché, but we cannot help repeating it: These are the cream of our youth. Almost all of them are graduates of select patrols and battle units in the IDF. Boro, Zikhrin and Ramot will not accept boys with a different background. The three of them share a similar military experience. Zikhrin and Boro got to know each other in the period when Zikhrin was the commander for South Lebanon and Boro was the local Shin Bet chief. Israel Ramot and Zikhrin served together in the paratroops. Now they have also brought in Marcello Kohen, the famed company master sergeant of the paratroop brigade and brother of soccer player Avi Kohen. When Ramot and Zikhrin came to the paratroops, Marcello was their platoon sergeant and commander. Today Marcello recalls with a smile how he would haze them. Marcello now works as company master sergeant of the camp in Loudima and teaches the Congolese how to set up a military base. Zikhrin eagerly relates that today's Marcello is the same energetic, forceful Marcello from before. You get up early in the morning and see the man polished and ironed like in the good old days, arranging the camp and teaching the Congolese commanders about military discipline.

It is Simhat Torah eve in the heart of Africa. Tomorrow is supposed to be a big day with a concluding ceremony for the class of recruits by the local Interior Minister, who is jokingly referred to here as "Deri." The ceremony was actually supposed to have taken place a week before, but at the last minute "Deri" postponed his visit. In the Congo this is a good excuse for cancelling a ceremony. The camp is at its spit and polish best. The Israeli trainers are gathered in the mess hall after a back-breaking day of preparation, during the course of which they repeatedly drilled target firing, warfare in a built-up area, engagements, and assaults. Iti Rapaport, one of the [religious] trainers who wears a woven skullcap, says a few words about the significance of Simhat Torah. Outside is a Succah [ceremonial hut] that is perfect in every way, but it cannot hold them all. The Congolese soldiers here already learned what the holiday of Succot is and throw terms around like "lulav" [palm frond] and "etrog" [citron fruit]. Their attitude toward the Succah is one of respect mixed with fear. When the Israeli guys came forward to build the Succah and asked to cut palm branches, the locals ran away in terror. They believe that evil spirits reside in the palm trees. All the Israelis' entreaties and attempts at persuasion were to no avail. The Congolese refused to approach the Succah. Only after the palm branches were cut, did they approach with hesitant steps, and not before looking all around to see if some spirit were lying in ambush between the leaves.

The activity in the Congo, in the heart of Africa, far from the modern world, without a highway system, without means of transportation, cut off from home, parents,

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There is a lot of time here to think, to be with yourself, to remember the past and plan for the future. Everyone here has a private list of dreams that he hopes to realize.

Like a close-knit battle unit, the boys decided to give me a hard time and protect one of the group who did not want exposure. That was Uri Shahaq, the son of General Amnon Lifqin-Shahaq, who is supposed to become the next Chief of Staff of the IDF. The younger Shahaq is a member of this team of trainers in the Congo. I did not have to strain to identify him. He looks very much like his father. A tall boy, thin, retiring, not striking. Those in charge of him attest that he is a professional and does an excellent job in the Congo.

From the first moment he treated me suspiciously. He tried to run away from the camera and was in no hurry to join the discussions with the group. Uri Shahaq does not like people to bring up his father. "I do not exist because of my ancestry but rather on my own merit," he likes to tell his friends. Afterward they told me that in the beginning they still brought up his parentage. "Uri had a crisis over that so we stopped it," one of the trainers relates.

In any case, Uri Shahaq did not ask for special treatment when he appeared one day in the offices of the "Lavdan" Corporation in Ramat Gan and sought work as a trainer in the Congo. Nor did he have to. They took him because of his talent. If he did not have that talent, the fact that he is the son of Amnon Lifqin-Shahaq would not have helped him.

Now Uri Shahaq teaches the art of paratroop warfare in the Congo, and like the rest of his buddies he excitedly notes their ability to absorb it and the high professional level of the local soldiers. "They are reaching a much higher level than the recruits in the IDF. They shoot and hit the target. Maybe we should change the training language of the IDF to French," he says with a smile.

Stories of Hazing

Zikhrin and Boro instructed the trainers under them to be humane. Not to show any attitude of superiority. In any case the locals relate to their white trainers with respect. When General Zikhrin shakes one of their hands, he shudders. The Israeli trainers try to teach the Congolese the meaning of helping a friend, the significance of the value on the basis of which they remove the wounded in battle. In the place where they invented the law of survival known as the law of the jungle, soldiers have no problem watching their friends dragging a stretcher for kilometers. It will not occur to them to lend a hand. The Israeli trainers are fighting to change that mentality.

received a punishment of not eating for three days; headquarters in another company instructed its soldiers to crawl in a sewage canal and be sure that their faces were in the waste water; another commander shackled three of his people to a tree for three days.

Our boys dealt with it and stopped the torture. Afterward they gathered the commanders and explained to them that you cannot build an army that way. It is kind of hard to inculcate these norms. Uri Tomarqin of Kfar Saba, a veteran of a select IDF unit, tells me: "In a country in which you set up a meeting with someone for today and he shows up a week later, go explain what '30 seconds, move!' means.

At night, when we sit in one of the camp villas and listen to the sounds of the jungle, the guys become contemplative. Uri Tomarqin, like Uri Shahaq, as well (who at this stage identifies himself to me as Uri Nir), Iti Rapaport, Iti Qoshnarov, Dan Zohar, Miqi Lavi, Ro'i Levi and Ro'i Tomarqin (Uri's brother) think that maybe we Israelis are destroying the innocence here, defacing the primordial, opening the eyes of the locals, bringing them into the modern world that is not attainable for them at this stage, and causing them to envy.

Even now it is hard for the guys to understand the African mind; for example, the attitude of the locals to death and family life. They were moved when one of the Congolese soldiers showed them a letter he had received from his wife. "Our son died," the woman wrote, "Come home quick and let us make another one." Afterward they recalled the story of the driver of the camp commander who, on one of his trips, got a young girl from one of the villages pregnant, and she bore him a son. The man told his wife about it, and she imposed punishment on him: Pay a fine. With the money she received from her husband, the woman bought clothes, went back to her adulterous husband and ordered him: Go give the clothes to your baby son.

The Congolese soldiers have already learned that when there is a problem you have to come to the Israelis, who are always happy to help. The Israelis give them money, when necessary, to go back home, put in a good word to the local commanders and also stop the torture. The Congolese also adopt IDF slang. During the course of training you can hear them yelling: "We have run into them" or using the battle cry: "We squashed them." They sing songs by Shlomo Artzi and Zohar Argov. On Passover they eat matzah and jam, and on Memorial Day they stood perfectly still as each of the guys stood by the flag and read out the names of his fallen comrades. They do not hide their love for their Israeli trainers. The guys describe the moments before going home on leave as the most difficult. The soldiers carry them on their shoulders, surround the camp and see them off in tears.

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The Big Missed Opportunity

The Israeli guys use their free time for hikes deep in the forest. They have not yet run into any wild animals. Here and there they have seen monkeys. Uri Shahaq relates disappointedly how several times already they have had him rush him to the Niari River to see hippopotamuses. "I ran like an idiot in my underpants, and there was nothing there at all. It is all stories." But Shahaq, like his friends, loves the place. "The minute you are isolated, you have all the time in the world to do things you never did before. You can think. Before, I did not have the time to sit and think and understand things. Every free minute you rush to the refrigerator, turn on the radio, call a friend. Here you sit and read. When I come home I am not clear as to why there is a news flash every half hour. The issue of the Golan Heights seems a lot less interesting than in Israel. I am not for leaving the Golan, but from here it seems very uninteresting to me."

Uri Shahaq remembers his army time as a time of education. But, he says, this is not the army that it used to be, the one his father served in as a soldier. For him, Uri, there was not the same freedom to act that his father had. The guys talk about a CYA policy in the IDF. Every commander operates today exactly according to the book so as not to get caught up in anything. Uri remembers that as a platoon sergeant, he once kept his soldiers outside a quarter hour too long, and was taken up on charges for it. "They used to let us do hard things, like a 90 km beret march. Maybe we did not do everything, we only accomplished a part of it, but we believed that we could. Today it is different. The army of today is not the army it once was."

Late in the evening a message was received from Brazzaville that the Interior Minister had postponed his arrival. "Deri" had stuck it to us again. A disappointed sigh passed through the camp. But in the end he did come. Not at the appointed hour, but at least on the right day. The troops put on a commencement show and demonstrated some amazing things to him, as the Israelis had taught them. Zikhrin stood on the dignitaries' platform and melted with pleasure just like a father leading his son to the wedding canopy. The Interior Minister gave an excited speech and praised the contribution of the Israelis to the establishment of democracy in the Congo. Similar words were also heard afterward from the American ambassador here. He said that the Israeli activity here has a positive influence on President Lissouba's regime. The speed and deliberateness with which Zikhrin and Boro put together the force calmed both the president and the opposition. Creating the force enabled Lissouba to display the generosity of victors and to decide that apart from the presidential guard, all the other forces would stay in their bases outside the capital. He did not want to see soldiers on the streets. The President is beholden to the Israelis for this calm. There is no request that he would not fulfill.

Therefore, it is easy to understand that relations between Boro and Zikhrin and the presidential palace long ago

ceased being purely business, those of a corporation that has to supply merchandise and the client who ordered it. "Something happened to us on the way to making money," says Ha'im Boro, "we fell in love with the place." The more time passes, the more this love turns into a fiery romance.

In short, Boro and Zikhrin have simply conquered the Congo. The future augurs very well for them. They are about to expand their military activity into more varied business ventures. As we said, there are things to buy and things to sell in the Congo. Thus, what the Israeli Foreign Ministry did not do, what our ambassador to Zaire did not do (who also represents our interests in the Congo), has been done by Zikhrin and Boro. They are the ones behind the oil deal worked out between the government of the Congo and the national oil corporation "Nafta." In 1996 the liens on the oil fields that the former president encumbered himself with will expire. Meanwhile two more oil wells have been discovered that could supply three times the consumption of the State of Israel. Israel has gotten into this deal now thanks to the push by Boro and Zikhrin.

This pair also pushed the supply helicopter deal. They brought the commander of the Congolese air force to Israel and gave him a deluxe tour. They are also responsible for the upcoming visit of President Lissouba to Israel. He is supposed to arrive here next week to persuade the Israeli Government to provide him agricultural and technological assistance. He also wants the government to encourage Israeli investors to come to invest in the Congo. "There is room for everyone," Zikhrin and Boro say, "we never pretended to do all the deals here alone. But Israel has to decide if it is going back to Africa."

Meanwhile Israel has not returned to Africa, at least not to the Congo. If there were a guiding hand and Israel operated intelligently, with a view to the future, there would be a lot of Israeli companies making deals in the Congo. Here is a partial list of missed opportunities: In a bid for purchasing supply aircraft, an Italian firm won out. A French firm won a bid to train the Congolese gendarmes because the Ministry of Defense did not want our boys to be involved in training a force whose mission is to break up demonstrations. The French also won a bid to set up a telephone network worth hundreds of millions of dollars. A bid is now being solicited to pave a highway thousands of kilometers long from the port city of Pointe Noire to Brazzaville. Billions of dollars are involved here and Israel is not in the picture.

The question naturally arises here as to the whereabouts of our ambassador to Zaire, Shlomo Avital? Why does he not show interest? It seems that there is no chemistry between him and the Congolese upper echelons. The best proof of that was on Israeli Independence Day. Avital invited all the government ministers and the president to the festive occasion. No one, apart from the Foreign Minister, showed up. The President believes in Boro and

Zikhrin. When I met with him, he was at pains to stress over and over again how grateful he is to them. He also spoke about Jewish brain power, which could help the Congo. The way the President talked reminded me of Jean Claude, a Congolese platoon sergeant, who writes down Hebrew words in his logbook every day and says: "I am a Congolese Jew." President Lissouba is opening the gates of the Congo to us with all its treasures. We have only to go in, bend down and take.

Next Chief of Staff Amnon Shahaq Profiled

95A0004A Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT (Weekend Supplement) in Hebrew 7 Oct 94 pp 1-3

[Article by Ron ben-Yishai: "Without Pushing"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The next Chief of Staff, Amnon Shahaq is charismatic, a man of honest intelligence, with an outstanding ability to deal with high pressure situations. Despite his impressive battle record, he did not elbow his way to the top. In his new job he will have to contend, among other things, with public and political pressures and come up with creative solutions for security arrangements. He will have to prepare his 'peace army' to deal with both Islamic terror and ballistic missiles.

In less than three months Amnon Shahaq will gather some personal belongings, move one flight up in the building and take over the office of the chief of staff. On the shelf beside his desk he will set up the pictures of Tali, his wife, and their two children, Yuval and Gil. Above the corner seating where he likes to entertain visitors, he will probably instruct his office staff to hang his two favorite pictures of the Israeli landscape, the one, by Zaritski and the other, by Qalfish. On the wall next to him, so that he will see it whenever he turns around, he will hang a picture of Uzi Ya'iri, may he rest in peace, his former commander in the paratroop brigade, who was killed in a battle with terrorists in the Savoy Hotel in Tel Aviv.

Amnon Lifqin Shahaq, a seventh generation Israeli, scion of a Jerusalem business family, twice married and the father of five children, is not a man of bombastic mementoes, shiny trophies or war toys. He glided into the chief of staff's office at age 50, almost without competition, on the strength of four qualities: quiet charisma that inspires confidence, an outstanding ability to function under pressure, honest intelligence, and a demonstrated lack of excitability.

But in order to succeed in his job over the next four years, Shahaq will have to show additional qualities in himself and his staff—mainly creativity, persuasiveness and moral fortitude—since they will have to confront simultaneously six missions, any one of which is an enormous challenge in and of itself. They will have to:

- Formulate original solutions to the security arrangements with the Syrians and the Palestinians and carry them out in the field.

- Implement government resolutions without being drawn into a civil war, even if those resolutions require forced evacuation of Jewish settlements in Judea, Samaria, Gaza, and the Golan.
- Find ways to confront offshoots and new forms of militant Islam and fanatic terror that are likely to appear in the region and in the international arena, compared to which the familiar Hizballah and Hamas would appear tame.
- Continue establishing a long-range branch that would be capable of providing more than one response to the threat of ballistic missiles and nonconventional weaponry.
- Set up a long-range intelligence gathering and interdiction campaign.
- Plan and begin to implement a sea change in IDF structure and manpower establishment; the IDF will have to adjust its structure and operational philosophy to a situation in which, on the one hand, there will be peace with all or nearly all the confrontation states around Israel, while on the other, Israel will be threatened by ballistic missiles from Iraq and Iran, and terrorism will continue.

The present structure of the army, based on the call-up of reserve units during an emergency and their movement to battle areas, will not work if Iran, Iraq or Syria decide to rain missiles on Israel and disrupt the call-up system. The IDF [Israel Defense Forces] will therefore have to be based on a relatively large regular army for offensive missions, whose people are skilled in the operation of modern weapons systems and sophisticated precision armament, and on territorial (regional) reserve units equipped with modern antitank and anti-aircraft weapons, that would be able to block any surprise attack at the border and occasionally deal with terror incidents.

It can be said without exaggerating that since the War of Independence the General Staff has not had to bear as heavy a responsibility as Lifqin-Shahaq and his staff will shortly face. The question is, will someone who was a superior field commander and an effective Deputy Chief of Staff be able to deal with the not-so-distant future shock.

To do that he will have to muster all his abilities and all his physical strength. The leukemia that he suffered a few years ago has been cleared up. His doctor says that he is completely healthy. But Shahaq is still careful to be checked twice a year to make sure there is no repeat of that trauma.

One thing is almost certain: Shahaq will not have a leadership problem, especially if he continues to enjoy the prime minister's backing and trust as Barak did. The officers who frequently visit his office are well aware of the quiet authority with which the deputy chief of staff conducts the discussions around his desk. The public was exposed to it at the time of the negotiations with the Palestinians.

In his joint television appearances with Nabil Shaath in Taba and in Cairo, as well as behind closed doors in the

conference room, the deputy chief of staff demonstrated the proper mix of reliability and decisiveness that won him the respect of both the Israeli and Palestinian delegations. Even today when friction between the Palestinian and Israeli authorities reaches the point of a particularly serious clash that must be dealt with quickly, the Palestinians will pick up the phone and call his office.

His impressive performance under pressure is what both his subordinates and his commanders remember, even Rafi, who as chief of staff at the time, was not particularly fond of him. "From a situation of destruction, where everything went sour, with everyone screaming, he quietly gathered the dead, tended the wounded, responded politely, abolished the chaos, and concluded the mission." That was how Brig. General (Res.) Moshe Naveh last year described his former commander to reporter Eti Hasid.

Naveh was quick to add that: "Afterwards, when things had calmed down, he would say: 'My God, how scary, even my balls were trembling.'"

Shahaq's ability to function under pressure was demonstrated for the first time when he was a young paratroop company commander. In the Karamah campaign, in 1968, his armor company crossed the Jordan and got stuck under heavy tank and artillery fire in the deep mud in the fields near Adam Bridge.

The battle went on for almost a whole day. Unable to extricate itself from the low terrain in which it found itself, the company suffered a number of killed and wounded, but the young captain did not lose his composure. Even now his subordinates at the time recall the sangfroid and tranquility with which he continued to direct the battle, recover the wounded, report to his commanders, and, finally, withdraw his people to a place of safety. That was how he earned his first Medal of Courage.

Shahaq's second Medal of Courage was also earned on the strength of his sangfroid and leadership under fire (Shahaq is the only person in the State of Israel to hold two such decorations, which are just one step below the "Medal of Bravery"). He commanded a force that raided the Popular Front headquarters in Beirut in the "Spring Youth" campaign in 1973. The force was discovered and three of its soldiers were wounded in the first salvo of gunfire. But he did not turn back. He took control of the lower floors of the building, completed the mission, evacuated the dead and wounded, and blew up the building.

Shahaq has also made more than a few mistakes during the course of his career. The most serious was when, a day or two after taking on the job of head of Aman [Military Intelligence], he advised the prime minister, on the basis of "hot information" that was put on his desk, to authorize the interception of an airplane of Libyan leaders that was flying from Tripoli to Damascus.

According to the information, several Palestinian terrorist heads were supposed to be on board.

The interception was carried out and the plane was forced to land at a northern air force base. But when the door was opened, it turned out that there were no terrorist leaders among the passengers and that Israel had violated international law in vain. An investigation of the fiasco showed that the information was incomplete, the report was misunderstood, and that the untried and inexperienced head of Aman had made an error in judgment.

Shahaq had to eat crow for a while until the incident was forgotten, largely on the strength of the campaign to eliminate Abu Jihad in Tunis, that, according to foreign sources, was carried out by an Israeli raiding force. According to those same sources, Shahaq was one of the commanders of the campaign, who circled in an Air Force Boeing 707 over the Mediterranean, not far from the theater of action.

No detail of Lifqin's childhood can explain why he chose a military career and was successful in it. He grew up in a warm, close-knit Tel Aviv family: his father, who dealt in real estate transactions; his mother, who was a housewife; and three children, Amnon being the youngest. Over the course of time, his sister Tamar died of cancer. Afterward, when he had already served in the army, his father died of a stroke.

But at age 14 Lifqin was a normal "northern" youngster, and to this day it is not clear why he suddenly decided to leave home and go to study in the military boarding school alongside the polytechnic high school in Haifa. He did not stand out among those in his year. The star among them was actually Matan Vilna'i. Lifqin's academic average was slightly above the mean, but he was in the upper 10 percent in military disciplines. He only displayed and developed his full intelligence in the army, after he was drafted into the paratroopers in 1962.

That is perhaps why Shahaq tends to disparage the boarding school a bit and discredit it: "You could even get by without a military boarding school," he said in a newspaper interview nine years ago, "the question is how much it costs the Israeli people, and the cost-benefit ratio. The military boarding school did not give me much. In the military area it did not add, and in the area of values, every educational institution could supply those same values. What I got there did not come from my studies but from the group that I was in at the time."

Those who know Lifqin well know that he is a very sensitive type, even a little sentimental. We might therefore suspect that this quote does not entirely reflect his attitude to the military boarding school and the years that he spent there. But during the course of long years of military service he acquired a pragmatic-intellectual approach that deliberately tries to do away with any trace of illusion or glorification of any topic in which he was involved.

So, for example, in his evaluations as head of Aman, he was always careful not to be dogmatic or to lock into a single interpretation of the information that reached him. Nevertheless he could almost always identify the reasonable possibility from among contrasting evaluations presented to him. If those evaluations were not clear enough, he asked for more information to either confirm or contradict what he was thinking.

When he was commander of IDF forces in Chouf, a short while after the Lebanon War, Shahaq was quoted as having said: "You see! Our job here is the classic job of the soccer referee. We did not come here for them to love us and no one has any reason to love us.... There are no saints and no sinners here. They are all sinners."

Sometimes, when something hurts or really matters to him, he will slip into cynicism, like in his meeting with me, back in Chouf, at the height of the battles and the frightening acts of horror perpetrated by the Druze and Maronite Christians against each other. Shahaq took out a bundle of pictures and tossed them across the table to me. "I hope you have already eaten," he said, "otherwise these pictures will ruin your appetite. But you should look at them and remember whom we are dealing with here—with expert surgeons."

In contrast to many of his counterparts on the General Staff, Shahaq does not rub shoulders with politicians. When his candidacy for chief of staff was sent up four years ago against that of Ehud Barak, a delegation of several Likud members came to him and offered assistance. Shahaq politely showed them the door. He also scrupulously refrains from personal confrontations and turf battles.

When he was still head of Aman, and the head of Mosad was about to retire, Amnon was interested in the new position. But he kept that interest to himself. Only when asked explicitly by Rabin (who at the time was Defense Minister in the Shamir government), did Shahaq say: "Yes, I am interested."

In the end Shamir preferred to leave him in Aman, and he was the only one among thousands who had regular one on one meetings with Shamir.

Not that the Likud politicians had such a good thing with him. Half a year after the outbreak of the Intifadah he said in a public speech that the only leadership in the territories was that of the PLO. Afterwards more dovish statements were attributed to him, for which any other member of the military would have suffered severely. But Arens, who was defense minister, as well as Shamir, preferred to ignore them and treated those apparently political statements as an expression of impartial professional integrity.

Afterward, when the Aman forecasts under Gen. Shahaq's leadership were borne out with regard to what would happen in the Gulf war, Arens used him in his disagreements with the Americans, and became one of his greatest fans.

Most recently, when Shahaq was Ehud Barak's deputy, the two worked together in perfect harmony. The common denominator was and remains mutual respect. They are not soul buddies, but Shahaq recognizes Barak's seniority (Barak is several years older), and Barak recognizes (and says so at every opportunity) Shahaq's abilities as a commander and an organization man. He gave him an almost free hand in managing equipment matters and the IDF build. When Rabin appointed Shahaq to head the delegation for talks with the Palestinians, despite the fact that Barak wanted Uzi Dayan, the Chief of Staff accepted the appointment without further ado.

These facts are particularly significant in light of the possibility that in the near or distant future, the two may meet again at the negotiating table. But this time Barak will be the prime minister's adviser on security arrangements with the Syrians, and perhaps, in the more distant future, defense minister.

By dint of his quiet nature, his humor, and his substantive approach, Shahaq manages to get along with almost everyone—without appeasing or flattering and without manipulation and scare tactics. Only the media still arouses his opposition, and his opinion of most reporters is not particularly flattering. In this connection, it must be pointed out that his marriage to the former military correspondent for DAVAR has mellowed him even on this point, which was already apparent in his open tack with the press at the time of the Palestinian talks.

In general a careful look at Shahaq's career will show that he is good at identifying new situations, evaluating their significance, and afterward adjusting to them and functioning within them. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that the same thing will happen this time, too, in the new job and new era that he now enters.

Planning Branch Examines Redeployment

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[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] While Israeli and Palestinian negotiations in Cairo set rules and parameters for the elections to the Palestinian Council, teams from the Civil Administration and the IDF's [Israel Defense Forces] are trying to determine how the army will redeploy outside urban centers throughout Judea and Samaria before and during these elections without compromising the security of Israelis.

Israeli and Palestinian leaders and negotiators define "redeployment" differently. While Palestinians regard it as essentially a permanent withdrawal from city centers and neighborhoods, Israelis are reluctant to see it as a de facto ceding of control.

In a Rosh Hashana interview with THE JERUSALEM POST, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin suggested that it is by no means a withdrawal, saying that it is only a step

that may be taken to facilitate Palestinian elections. In fact, Rabin said, it is not redeployment that we are talking about.

"...We are committed to preredeployment in case of Palestinian elections.... that is, to take the IDF out of the center of densely populated areas to facilitate elections...preredeployment is related only to the elections. We will have to work out the structure of the interim agreement before we negotiate preredeployment required for the elections," Rabin said.

Rabin's reservations notwithstanding, the Planning Branch began preparations for the operation as early as September 1993, following the signing of the Oslo accord. The process was accelerated last May when the Cairo agreement on Gaza and Jericho was signed, and the next phase, elections, loomed on the horizon.

Planning Branch chief and Cairo negotiator Maj. Gen. 'Uzi Dayan was asked by Rabin and Chief of Staff Ehud Barak to plan a partial dedeployment of the IDF to the outlying sections of major West Bank cities.

A more detailed guideline will follow, the Planning Branch was told, contingent on the development and progress of the implementation of the Israeli-PLO accord.

The term "partial," Planning Branch sources explain, means that effective control of access roads to cities and towns will be retained by the IDF, which will station its units around the cities, ready to reenter if necessary.

But for redeployment, or preredeployment, to be implemented, the form of elections had to be negotiated, and a timetable determined.

The Oslo accord stipulated that as part of self-rule and its eventual expansion beyond the Gaza Strip and Jericho, the Palestinians would establish a freely elected council to handle civil matters.

The eligibility of Palestinian residents to both vote and get elected, the number of delegates (still in dispute), the council's structure and composition, and the exact, binding legal definitions of its powers were to be decided in subsequent negotiations between the two sides. [passage omitted]

The Palestinians perceive the elections as more than a realization of self-determination; they see them as a further step towards ending Israeli occupation.

This explains the Palestinians' emphasis on IDF redeployment and their frequent accusations that Israel is stalling negotiations, ostensibly over election issues, but really because it does not want to comply fully with the redeployment provision. [passage omitted]

According to the Oslo agreement, Israel will redeploy its military forces prior to the elections and during election day around the outer edges of these cities to allow the

Palestinians to conduct political campaigns, establish an electoral process, and hold elections free of an Israeli presence.

Otherwise, say the Palestinians, people will not vote, feeling that nothing has radically changed if Israeli soldiers patrol the streets. That redeployment, say the Planning Branch sources, is not a simple matter.

"On the other hand, getting out of the Nabulus casbah and the back alleys of Janin is both tempting and logical, and does not diminish our military capabilities to control these areas.

"On the other hand, leaving those cities and redeploying around them also means that we effectively no longer have total control of roads frequently used by settlers driving through," said a Planning Branch officer. Barak concurs.

In his own Rosh Hashana interview with the POST, Barak for the first time admitted that redeployment contains its perils.

"There is a danger that we will leave some of the cities that Israelis drive through," he said. "We have to provide security for these Israelis. For some cities...we should provide detours...but there are places where detours are impossible. So this is very complicated in terms of ensuring security."

To maximize rather than compromise security, assuming that a comprehensive preredeployment would be implemented, army planners proposed classifying cities and towns by the degree of difficulty of redeployment, given each city's features, the number of settlements around it, and how frequently the access roads are used.

In the less problematic category are Nabulus, Tulkarm, Janin, and Qabatiyah. the problematic ones include Qalqilyah, Bethlehem, Ramallah, and al-Birah. All villages around Jerusalem are considered very problematic because many are within the Jerusalem municipal boundaries.

In a category of its own is Hebron, depicted by a Planning branch source as "extremely problematic, almost intractable."

Every conceivable problem is found in Hebron: access roads used by Qiryat Arba' residents; the Cave of the Patriarchs; and, most important and problematic, Jewish enclaves in the center of Hebron.

Redeployment cannot be achieved without evacuating these enclaves, something which Rabin, after the Cave of the Patriarchs massacre, pledged not to do.

A compromise with the Palestinians on Hebron may be reached, but army planners seem to think that the issue of preredeployment, or redeployment, is the next major obstacle on the agenda, once the election issue is settled.

LEBANON

Fadlallah on Family Planning, Islamic Movements
95WR0007Y Beirut AL-SAFIR in Arabic 9 Sep 94 p 7

[Interview with Sayyid Muhammad Husayn Fadlallah by Muna Sukkariyah; place and date not given: "We Are Not Against Family Planning and Birth Control, but Against Abortion"—first five paragraphs are AL-SAFIR introduction]

[FBIS Translated Text] Conversation with 'Allamah Sayyid Muhammad Husayn Fadlallah finds its continual justifications and intertwining keynotes when the state of the nation and region where we live is dominated by issues and affairs that decree politically, socially, or juridically that a man of Fadlallah's weight have his say and position. How then when the matter concerns the Conference on Population and Development that was held in Cairo amidst debate into which the Islamic world entered?

'Allamah Fadlallah reviews in this interview a number of observations that were raised and are being raised. He has his religious and worldly opinion about them. He sees "speciousness" in the way in which some of the conference's keynotes were raised in the Arabic and Western media and in the Vatican's position.

He sees a negative emotionalism that some Islamic movements are experiencing. The West is encouraging some of these movements, not from love for them, but to realize its interests.

There is also the issue of abortion and the question of family planning, on both of which he offers an Islamic legal opinion.

The following is an interview with Sayyid Fadlallah about the Cairo conference, Islamic movements, and the state of the nation.

[Sukkariyah] Excuse me if I begin my questions to Your Eminence with the following. The Islamic world is experiencing crises. It, before we cast blame on others, bears responsibility for the main part of them. Therefore, we may say that the Muslim community should not limit its view of the keynotes of the Conference on Population and Development to a narrow perspective. Certain keynotes are also liable to discussion even if they are under an umbrella of religious prohibition.

[Fadlallah] Perhaps this violent uproar—if one may use the term—about the issues that touch the ethical-prohibitional side of Islam was because they were not discussed calmly and openly like issues raised in a way that could bring about the results that the conference's organizers wanted. We know that we are in a world in which we do not possess the great strength by which we could subject the world to our way of thinking. Therefore, any isolation from the places where the issues of mankind are treated becomes isolation for us from the

movement of issues in the world, instead of being an element of negative influence against the uneasy issues that the world raises. Therefore I am against the method that employs absolute negativity and against talking emotionally about eliminating opposing ideas.

On the other hand, I think that the way the question was raised in the Arabic media and the interpretations of the Western media, on the one hand, and the Vatican's move to raise the abortion question as a keynote for reservation to the conference may have helped these milieus move violently to stress these very issues.

Background of the Campaign

[Sukkariyah] In other words, their intention was to clothe the reality of the Islamic world with even more negativity.

[Fadlallah] I do not want to go into their intended goals. I want to stress this point and explain this phenomenon. The movement to protest the keynotes of abortion, homosexuality, and sexual freedom started from the focus of the Western media, which tried to imply by their reports to the Islamic or Eastern world that the conference's role was limited to these subjects. The Vatican in its international movement, especially in Islamic regions, participated in this influence.

[Sukkariyah] What was the intent of raising this aspect?

[Fadlallah] The intent may have been to find trumpets that would give Western public opinion the impression that the Islamic world lacks rationality in its confronting mankind's insistent problems in our contemporary world.

[Sukkariyah] But did the Islamic world appear as if it were so?

[Fadlallah] Very possibly this excitement on the part of the media was aimed at creating a great interest in this conference, so that its resolutions would penetrate deeply into the region's consciousness on the assumption that the region was awaiting the results of the conference's study of these issues. It was thus very possible that they would have an influence even on the basic issues related to the question of population increase and other questions.

[Sukkariyah] In other words, trial balloons.

[Fadlallah] If this conference had been held normally without excitement, the Arab-Islamic world would have been unaware of its being held; however, after the outcry it became an issue. As for the issue of the excitement that started from some Islamic movements or organizations, I think there is a style that still imposes itself on the scene—the style of violently confronting everything the West proposes. The basis of the style may derive from two things: first, from the emotional state that continues to leave its effects on Islamic reality and perhaps on Third World reality generally regarding sensitive issues

that are raised in a positive or negative framework. It is the style of the East or the Third World. I don't think it is a style peculiar to the Islamic or non-Islamic world. We saw that when the Vatican opposed this conference, big demonstrations marched in the Philippines; which means that the question is not a question of the Islamic world and Islamic movements, but rather a question of the emotional style.

The second point is that Muslims have a deep wariness of all the West's projects. We are up against a nearly general mental state against any Western-proposed project, even humanitarian. We wonder what is behind such a humanitarian project. The West has made us accustomed to its proposing many outwardly humanitarian projects that inwardly conceal schemes to dominate the region.

Islamic Facilitation

[Sukkariyah] There are questions about the role of many Islamic movements. Whether they are acting intentionally or unintentionally, they are facilitating and giving the West a justification for doing what it wants.

[Fadlallah] When we want to discuss these issues on the broad scene, there is much to be said. When we want to discuss them within this circle, the question may have special keynotes.

[Sukkariyah] What do these Islamic movements that overflow on the surface, particularly in the Arab world, want? What does the violence in which they engage mean?

[Fadlallah] I notice that the violence that the Islamic movement is experiencing nowadays is the same violence that the Arab nationalist movement or any movement persecuted by any regime or regional or international axis experienced. Let us study the subject calmly. First of all I want to stress that the Islamic movements understand Islam, reality, and Islamic movement toward the future in different ways. There are Salafi orientations that reject anything new and live within a narrow mentality of understanding texts and confronting reality. This orientation is one that existed in the traditional milieu that left some influences on the Islamic movement. Some of its leaders and pioneers were influenced by this Salafi orientation. There are Islamic movements open to the age and its issues. These move by means of *ijtihad* [independent reasoning with regard to religious issues] open to the depth Islam's view of man, man's humanity, and man's movement in reality. We therefore cannot confuse one movement with another—just like the Arab nationalist movement, when it was born in the sphere that some of its pioneers say is above all.

[Sukkariyah] Our subject now is not to draw a comparison.

[Fadlallah] I do not want to discuss the issues, but I want to say that in all movements for change there are

different patterns in how they envisage major issues and in their methods of movement.

[Sukkariyah] Was it necessary for the clergy, whether we wanted it or not, to involve themselves in a question having an aspect of planning and science?

[Fadlallah] Most of the violence of the Islamic movements is a reaction to the violence of the regimes, not an initiative by them. The Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) in Algeria was not a movement of violence.

[Sukkariyah] But didn't it go to extremes and depart from the meaning of Islam—a teaching that would deter it from continuing, because what it is doing is only a loss to its country?

[Fadlallah] It wasn't a movement of violence; however, the regime's insane violence, the political interventions in the international conflict in Algeria, and the anarchy that occurred in Islamic positions are what led to violence.

[Sukkariyah] But Algeria is being destroyed, not the neighborhoods of Paris or elsewhere. Don't the Islamic movements lack rationality?

[Fadlallah] There are regimes that push the people into a corner. When we talk about Lebanon, are the Lebanese the ones who chose wars, or were they imposed on them? There is a political, cultural, and security fever that stirs in the joints of any people that experiences points of internal weakness and tension that can lead it to suicide.

Population, Development

[Sukkariyah] Let us return to the subject of our questions. Why was comment on the Conference on Population and Development limited to the clergy alone?

[Fadlallah] It is not true that they were alone. I read articles in the Egyptian newspapers by Egyptian intellectuals who discussed the question very rationally.

[Sukkariyah] But didn't the Islamists sum up the conference in just three keynotes?

[Fadlallah] I want to explain, but not justify, the negative methods. These keynotes are being raised for the first time in this way in the Islamic world. These keynotes—sexual freedom, homosexuality, and the abortion question—were being raised in the West.

[Sukkariyah] Are these questions not present in the Islamic world?

[Fadlallah] There is a difference between a reality's existing in the Islamic world and challenging the Islamic consciousness to open up to it so that the question is transformed through the international conference into being a law. There is a difference between the existence of crime in reality and passing legislation about crime. Those who became excited over this issue were afraid that this conference would obtain legislation from the United Nations that it is among the key rights of man.

[Sukkariyah] When can the sacred text dare in the direction of flexible realism?

[Fadlallah] I think there is more than one Islamic position moving in a positive direction on the subject of the conference.

[Sukkariyah] Family planning, for example?

[Fadlallah] When the issue of limiting the number of offspring is raised in the West, many in the Islamic world and the Third World remain wary of it. They consider it a Western operation to sap this world.

Nevertheless, we see that Iran, for example, which the Western world sees as the country sponsoring fundamentalism, upheld the principles of family planning and attended the conference.

We expressed our view of this subject from the outset. The question is not so negative. There are other voices that agreed to attend the conference. I don't think the Islamic world was given a chance to engage in broad debate, because the time between raising the issue and holding the conference was short.

Family Planning

[Sukkariyah] Why is the idea of limiting the increase of births a Western conspiracy?

[Fadlallah] I spoke about the existence of Eastern and Arab wariness about what the West proposes. There is a kind of lack of trust between the West and the colonized areas in the Third World, especially the Islamic areas. The question of family planning does not have to be a negative matter. We therefore find the Islamic world adopting it.

[Sukkariyah] Sayyid Fadlallah, how do you advocate the idea from the point of view of religious law?

[Fadlallah] First of all, I do not think that many progeny are always a negative value and that few progeny are always a positive value. We sometimes see countries—such as the European ones, for example—working to encourage reproduction. In any case, we do not want to turn a large number of children into a badge of the devil and a small number of children into a sign of grace. A large number of children, as some Muslims believe, is a positive value. The opposite is true. It is an issue subject to the real situation of the world generally, and to each country particularly. The second point is that in the Islamic mentality there are questions that are not treated only in the material sphere. There is room for the spiritual element, openness to God. Man should not become so immersed in material problems that he lives in a closed corner in which there is no hope for any opening; for that is incompatible with the depth of belief in God who can do all things. "Do not slay your children because of poverty" [Koran 6:151]. The third point is that from the point of view of *ijtihad* we are not against family planning on the basis of Shari'ah. We think that

all means of birth control are in themselves permissible where abortion is not involved. A husband and wife may agree to use the commonly available means of birth control. We have authored an *ijtihad* that many [religious] authorities of the Muslims have adopted, including the late Imam Kho'i. A man may not pressure a woman in the matter of reproduction. A woman has the right to use birth control even if the man does not want it, because she possesses freedom in her body. There is no Islamic legal or ethical obstacle to using means of birth control if they do not cause serious harm to the body. There are exceptions: sterilization, for example. Some scholars of Islamic law hold that sterilization is forbidden because it means destroying a power. What is allowed in Islam is suspending a power, but not destroying it, since destroying a power means gradually destroying the human being. Some scholars comment that if a woman's state of health requires sterilization, she may have it done in cases of emergency and extreme need.

As for the question of abortion, there is an Islamic opinion that holds that if a pregnancy is in its first months—according to the terminology of Islamic law "before the spirit is breathed into it"—and it causes serious harm to the woman's health, she can undergo an abortion in the first months.

After the spirit has been breathed into the fetus's body, abortion is permissible if the fetus becomes a danger to the woman's health. We therefore do not think that the position of Islam on family planning is negative.

[Sukkariyah] Not the position of Islam, but the position of Muslims.

[Fadlallah] The question of family planning was not raised because many Sunni and Shi'i Islamic scholars agree about it. Thus we do not think that the commotion that was raised in the Muslim countries was directed against family planning. It was against the ethical keynotes and against abortion. On the latter issue Muslims agreed with the Vatican in principle, although some Muslim scholars disagreed with the Vatican on some details.

[Sukkariyah] Statistics indicate a frightening reality of population increase in the Islamic world that will negatively affect conditions in these countries in terms of living standards. Don't men of religion have a role to play in regulating this matter?

[Fadlallah] I want to take exception in advance to this thesis for the simple reason that when we study many of the Islamic countries in this area, we notice that the West is involving some wealthy Islamic countries in spending billions of dollars on vain and fruitless wars. If we could spend these sums on the Islamic world, it could solve the population problem and the problem of future population. The problem is being handled in one dimension, not through a variety of dimensions.

When the Western world raises the question of population increase, it considers it a basic impediment to the development process. We, however, find that the West's theft of the Islamic world's resources and the West's plans to stir up problems in the Islamic world and exploit its points of weakness represent a major key to the obstruction of development. We notice, for example, that the West prevents the wealthy countries of the Islamic world from helping the poor countries. Can any petroleum country offer aid to an Arab country without America's permission? It cannot. This means that America and the West are working to prevent cooperation among the countries and peoples of the Islamic world. We think that even if the Islamic world reduced its population, development problems would remain extremely severe for the simple reason that the West considers the Islamic world and the Third World generally a milch cow and a consumer market for its products. The Islamic world is prevented from following a policy of self-reliance. When there is talk about confronting extremism and fundamentalism, the West is acting on the basis that it does not want the Islamic world to experience any tension against Western plans.

Confronting Oneself

[Sukkariyah] What does the Islamic world need first of all in order to begin confronting itself?

[Fadlallah] I think the Islamic world is forbidden to integrate, unite, and cooperate. I take responsibility for this statement. It is because the Islamic world is subjected to autocratic regimes that were put at the head of the Islamic world to protect the interests of international imperiousness, especially that of America.

[Sukkariyah] And the Islamic movements?

[Fadlallah] Even if the Islamic and other movements rage against the West, the West will distort their image and discredit them. We know that the West encourages many Islamic movements that engage in violence. The West is not sincere in its rejection of violence. It rejects violence if it is against its interests; it does not reject it if it is against the interests of its foes. America is prepared to accept the most violent Islamic, nationalist, and patriotic movements against French and British interests in any Third World country. We do not have to speak on this subject. America espoused the revolution of the Afghan Mujahidin against the Soviet Union although it represented serious violence.

The West is hypocritical in its talk about the subject of violence. On the one hand, the violence in the Islamic world is violence that starts from an emotional state present in the entire Third World. On the other hand, it also emanates from elements that the West is trying to move in the sphere of the conflict. This includes directing regimes to impose the logic of violence so that this violence can draw more violence, so that the cycle will continue.

[Sukkariyah] We observe that this reality will continue the spirit of defeat.

[Fadlallah] I observe it in the cultural mentality existing in our Arab and Islamic world and perhaps in the Third World. We love to talk about the elements of breakdown in us. We see no positive elements in what is happening. Those who were educated in the West speak in this way because they fear to be strong and for the nation to be strong. If we surveyed ordinary Lebanese about the resistance, we might not find more than 20 percent sincerely supporting it. However, if we had taken a poll during the fighting—either the fighting between Hizballah and Amal or between 'Awn and Ja'ja—we should have seen noisy popular sympathy for each side. We are afraid to be strong before others, before the foe. Our problem is that we turn in a vicious circle because that alone is desired for us. Fate? We deny that it is predestination and fate. So we are moving to empty the Islamic, Arab, or Eastern mentality of this Western-American monster. Some are afraid of being caught red-handed in the attempt to be strong; for if others find you strong, they will crush you with all the strength they have. I am not one of those who justifies what is happening in Algeria. We are against killing foreign diplomats, because they have nothing to do with the conflict; neither do we approve the killing of intellectuals merely because they oppose an opinion. What is happening in Algeria is insanity, the insanity of conflict. I am among those who hold that God put our fate into our hands. We make fate, which relates to human will as well as objective circumstances. The important thing is that we want to emerge from the control of international imperiousness and set out with our humanity to the world. We say, "Come to a common word, a common path, and a common goal."

[Sukkariyah] As regarding autonomous will, do we have the right to say that it is not available?

[Fadlallah] It is present in certain forms, but our problem is that we pelt these forms with stones—with charges of extremism, fundamentalism, and nationalism. Let us stop reviling those who desire the movement of their authentic humanity, because they can move the element of will in the nation. If we throw stones at them, their wounds will start to bleed. When the nation sees that, it will cease to be a nation of will.

Al-Tufayli on Resistance, Hostage-Taking, Iran

93WR0007X London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic
23 Sep 94 pp 18-21

[Interview with Shaykh Subhi al-Tufayli, former Hizballah general secretary, by Sabine Farra in Beirut; date not given: "France and America Are Fighting Over a Colony, Lebanon!"—first five paragraphs are AL-HAWADITH introduction]

[FBIS Translated Text] Hizballah's former general secretary, Shaykh Subhi al-Tufayli, expressed the opinion

that "the solution is Islam," though he also stressed that, "I must not impose my point of view on others."

He announced that he is against taking hostages and that this has been his position since the first foreigner was taken.

He stated that "the matter is part of the Franco-American conflict over a colony, Lebanon. They used their tools. We were the victims of this war." He said, "The resistance will continue, even if Israel withdraws from the south. We shall tear up any papers that are signed."

Shaykh al-Tufayli told AL-HAWADITH magazine in an interview, "Sectarian strife is still at its most severe in Lebanon." He said, "In the past, one person who administered the country used to be right or make mistakes. Today every master of a sect is a president of the republic and challenges the others."

Here is a transcript of the interview:

[Farra] What does Shaykh Subhi al-Tufayli currently represent within Hizballah?

[Al-Tufayli] Practically, I am here to serve the believers and the resistance generally. I have no other role.

[Farra] Even within the party leadership?

[Al-Tufayli] Even within the party leadership. There is a leadership. It makes the decisions. I do not participate in that.

[Farra] How would you describe your relations with Hizballah now?

[Al-Tufayli] Very ordinary relations, good and excellent. There is no difficulty. I discuss matters that come up with the leadership with full respect and cooperation.

[Farra] You intended to form a party independent of Hizballah. What has come of the project?

[Al-Tufayli] All those reports were for propaganda only.

[Farra] How would you describe your relations with Sayyid Husayn Fadlallah?

[Al-Tufayli] Normal relations, too.

[Farra] What is your position on the bombing of the Jewish association in Argentina and the charges leveled against Ansarallah?

[Al-Tufayli] There is an American operation to exploit what happened in Argentina to level charges and spread a certain social and media atmosphere in the region and the world—an atmosphere that works to serve American interests related to the Arab-Zionist negotiations.

The Americans have points of influence and control in the region. Islamists are not pleased with America's steps and American exploitation.

There is a struggle in the region between the Islamists, headed by the Islamic Republic [of Iran], and American hegemony. Naturally the Americans exploit everything to serve their interests.

That is why the issue of spotlighting Islamic currents has become prominent.

[Farra] Don't you think that the American charge is based on previous statements that coincided with the kidnapping of [al-Hajj] Mustafa al-Dirani? You said at that time that you were ready to respond to violence with violence and that the hand of the resistance was long and could even reach Argentina, as it did in 1992, when the embassy in Buenos Aires was bombed?

[Al-Tufayli] Yes, we respond. We can always defend ourselves to the extent of our ability. Yes, we defend ourselves. We defend ourselves to the full and take full responsibility for any deed we do to combat our enemies. We do not hide behind our victories when we are fighting the Zionist enemy and when we oppose and confront Zionist and American schemes in the region.

[Farra] Given that Islam and the Koran teach tolerance, is violence your only way to a solution?

[Al-Tufayli] So we are to shower the Israeli planes with roses and greet the American ships patrolling the region with basil and perfume! Can that be our role?

If you meet a general in a battle, how do you talk to him?

If you meet an architect, you will talk to him about everyday concerns. With the Zionists who expelled and killed us, do you want us to talk to them with roses and love?

Do you want us to talk with love to the Americans about the poor, the orphans, and the downtrodden? You can ask about our relations with the downtrodden. You can ask about our concern for the oppressed and about our sacrifices and our standing by the oppressed. It is they who have all our love, all our devotion, and our esteem and concern.

As for the murderer, criminal, rapist, and spiller of blood, do we have any mind left to confront them with love?

It is criminal for us to tolerate the criminal. When we speak about the Zionists, we are speaking in fact about an enemy—and likewise when we speak about Americans.

The right language is the language of confronting the occupier and usurper. When we tolerate a criminal we are his accomplices. Self-defense and proclaiming that there are murderers killing us—is this a crime?

[Farra] President al-Asad spoke about the hope coming in the peace negotiations. How do you interpret this hope? How do you assess the content of the Syrian president's speech?

[Al-Tufayli] I do not speak for others; I have to speak for myself. We have no hope while American and Zionist hegemony exists in the region. On that basis our resistance will continue. I do not think the Islamic and Arab peoples oppose the conviction I am stating. If we held a referendum in the Arab-Islamic world, the result in favor of the point of view from which I speak would be overwhelming.

[Farra] Will the resistance continue even if Israel withdraws from the south?

[Al-Tufayli] Yes.

[Farra] The resistance has announced its readiness to withdraw and leave the area in the care of the Lebanese army after an Israeli withdrawal. What do you say?

[Al-Tufayli] I don't know what resistance you are talking about. I am talking about our religious conviction—the Islamic resistance. It is the religious duty of every Muslim on earth to strive to liberate Palestine, not to mention the rest of Arab and Islamic land. No Muslim anywhere may take the initiative or participate in sacrificing any piece of Palestine. Any Muslim able to liberate land—welcome to him! Thus the resistance will continue and endure. I have stated so repeatedly. We shall tear up any papers that are signed.

[Farra] Are all the negotiations and all the events related to the peace process unsubstantial or nonexistent for you?

[Al-Tufayli] We do not accept what is happening. We reject it. We shall deal with it as if it did not exist.

[Farra] What do you represent of the base of Hizballah and the resistance?

[Al-Tufayli] Ask the people. Ask the people about their desires and aspirations. You will find that I express their desires.

[Farra] How would you describe your relations with Syria now?

[Al-Tufayli] There is no problem between us. There is no reason for there to be any problem.

[Farra] What about the domestic situation and its welcoming of President al-Hirawi and the achievements that have been realized?

[Al-Tufayli] Are you asking me my opinion about the Lebanese regime?

[Farra] You were against al-Ta'if. What is your position on it today?

[Al-Tufayli] My positions remain the same.

[Farra] Were you against the parliamentary elections, like the Christians who boycotted the elections?

[Al-Tufayli] No, it wasn't so. Let us set the record straight and speak logically, normally, without anyone's deceiving himself.

We have an essential precondition that al-Ta'if or any other formula must follow. It is that in no case may one fail to consult the opinion of the Lebanese people about any political scheme proposed as a solution to the Lebanese problem or any problem of any people.

The Lebanese people were never consulted about al-Ta'if.

[Farra] Then you are for the view of General Michel 'Awn, who demanded that the Lebanese be asked for their opinion?

[Al-Tufayli] General 'Awn rejected the al-Ta'if agreement. I do not say I am for al-Ta'if or against al-Ta'if. I wanted the agreement put to the Lebanese people so that they might be consulted about rejecting or accepting it. What we reject is for others to decide for us.

[Farra] Are we to understand that you were against the method and for the content?

[Al-Tufayli] The method first. If we agree on the way and method, we arrive afterward at the content and discuss it. Perhaps I shall reject the content because I see no solution in it. However, as long as the majority of Lebanese have accepted it, I shall be content with my conviction for myself. If I can persuade the Lebanese of my point of view, well and good—like any self-respecting person in the world, whether others agree or disagree with his point of view. We must follow the natural course, with dialogue, logic, and persuasion, and then the correction of errors. Error will never become truth with time. If we take an inventory of the Lebanese regime in various areas, we shall see whether it made a mistake or acted correctly.

On the subject of economics, I do not want to say much about the regime's goals. However, any person can go into the street, ask, and see in what disastrous condition people are.

In fact there is an organized process of economic destruction. People from every sector are shouting to heaven for help—farmers, businessmen, workers, and all professions. The disaster has reached critical proportions. This is something no one can tolerate. Things have gotten to the point where the government, with its policy of economic priorities, puts almost half a billion dollars into the airport while the people living near the airport have no drinking water or electric lights on a daily basis.

Politically, as soon as you raise the question of an administrator or general director, you see the three heads [the president, prime minister, and speaker of parliament] disagree, each of them taking a position. The problem is not solved until the Syrian vice president comes to Lebanon to threaten or placate them so that things get going. An administration that reaches this

level? Where is the administration? All this comes from the corruptions of al-Ta'if. Last year's administrative reform was an administrative scandal. They were unable to root out a single cause of corruption; on the contrary, they strengthened and supported it. It is very bad.

From domestic to foreign policy. To this very day you cannot say that Lebanon has embarked on its domestic national reconciliation. Matters are still in confusion.

[Farra] Do you think sectarian strife is still continuing in Lebanon?

[Al-Tufayli] I think it is at its most intense.

In the past—and I am no supporter of the First Republic, which gave primacy to one man—in the past one person would make a mistake or act correctly. Whether you approved of him or not, he was the one administering the country.

Today, every master of a sect is a president of the republic and challenges the others. Anyone who gets what he considers his sect's due is a hero. They threaten each other in the media.

I read yesterday: "We shall bring back the war, just as it was, if they do not accept my point of view on the subject of elections." So it's "welcome to war."

Is this the logic of the country's rulers?

[Farra] Who do you think is directing this political movement?

[Al-Tufayli] The structure from the foundation up needs rebuilding.

[Farra] In what way? Does the solution lie in the Islamic republic you are demanding?

[Al-Tufayli] The solution in my view is Islam. I am prepared to defend my point of view, but I must not impose my point of view on others. I am ready to discuss matters with everyone.

If you do not accept my thinking, you throw yourself into the embrace of the devil.

[Farra] The Christians and a large section of the Muslims will not accept an Islamic republic at the present time. What do you think is the solution?

[Al-Tufayli] First, everyone has his point of view. The disgraceful thing is for one to hide one's point of view. One should announce it and defend it. I believe in Islam and take pride in it. I think Islam is the best thought that can serve mankind. When I am embarrassed about my thinking, I am not straightforward. On the subject of Lebanon, I am proposing an idea such that I do not imagine anyone exists who will say of it that this argument is in error.

We hold that the view of the majority of the Lebanese people ought to be applied in Lebanon. The Lebanese people should be given freedom to decide and choose.

Each of us has an idea, Islamic or otherwise. Each tries to present it in its best form to the Lebanese people, raising it for discussion and defending it. Then he leaves the choice to the Lebanese.

Everyone must respect the desire and will of the majority of the Lebanese who vote for an idea.

[Farra] But won't this proposal lead to harm to the minorities?

[Al-Tufayli] Are we to make the minority rule the majority so that no harm occurs to the minority? The whole world works this way—in America and in Europe, too. In the end some view must prevail. If the view of the majority prevails, that is logic. The minority has to yield its view. Let them try to persuade the majority. I know that if I put forward an Islamist for a vote, the majority of Lebanese will vote against Islam. I know it; yet I espouse the idea of a vote because I believe I am defending my point of view. If my point of view is unsuccessful this year, it may succeed in 10 years or a hundred years.

The important thing is that I have a point of view. I am trying to communicate. I am trying to explain. I am trying to defend it by persuasion. Isn't this the sound thesis and anything else error?

Is it reasonable for some people to go and for America to dictate a point of view to them and then come and threaten and intimidate anyone who disagrees? Is that right? And is it wrong for us to allow the opinion of the Lebanese to be consulted?

I respect myself and refuse to have any point of view imposed on me by force of arms or otherwise. I want to defend my point of view by logic. If anyone attacks me with weapons, I have to defend myself from his attack. Here I think there is a very great difference between 'Awn and his point of view and the other parties. I think that with this position of mine I am defending personal dignity in Lebanon, whatever one's religious or political affiliation. Don't you think so?

[Farra] Do you think that the deputies from Hizballah and those from the Liberation Bloc do not represent you in parliament?

[Al-Tufayli] I have an opinion on the subject of the elections and on participation in the elections.

I am not absolutely against participation. I am for participation, but on terms in which I believe and that I think will preserve fundamental principles of my thinking.

[Farra] Aren't the actions that Islamists carry out in the world considered extremism and fundamentalism? Are such actions to be found in the teachings of Islam?

[Al-Tufayli] A man may err by abandoning his religion in one way; another errs by abandoning it in another way.

bound by it. He may not abandon it under any circumstance. Isn't leaving Islam to placate the Americans abandonment of Islam and a sin?

Another position leads a person to abandon Islam in another way. If one takes a position that is hostile to believers and to the innocent, it is abandonment of Islam in a different way. It, too, is wrong.

The Muslim is someone who is bound by God's teachings. When the Americans are unhappy about a particular position, they naturally misrepresent it. They say "terrorism" and such things.

[Farra] What about Mustafa al-Dirani's cousin? Do you want to enforce the law yourselves when there is a government?

[Al-Tufayli] You are defending the government well.

[Farra] I am not defending it. I am speaking realistically. I am asking how long Hizballah and the resistance are to remain independent in their decisions, bypassing the government and not adhering to its laws.

[Al-Tufayli] First of all, even in the days of the governments of political parties and sects we did not propose ourselves as a government. Everyone can testify that we set up no checkpoints and imposed no taxes on cars, trucks, and shops. Rather, we were tools to serve people.

At a time when the governments of political parties and sects were dictating their will, we never thought of doing any such thing.

Last year's Ba'labakk incident was a clan incident. Hizballah had nothing to do with it, even if it entered into a house where the mother and the children had been murdered. The family of the murderer and the family of the victim sought the opinion of the Shari'ah [Islamic Law] about whether it was permissible to kill the murderer, and then they killed him.

[Farra] Isn't this a dangerous precedent in the community?

[Al-Tufayli] I had nothing to do with the incident. It was a social tragedy that occurred at a certain place. The government and others admit and acknowledge that they were unable to deal with the problem.

If they had not been able to deal with it among themselves in this way, they would have torn each other apart in accordance with their customs.

As for al-Hajj Mustafa [al-Dirani], the government admits that the Zionist enemy came onto Lebanese territory at 1000. Its planes landed at 1030. The enemy stayed until dawn, traveling unimpeded. They kidnapped the man from his home and walked out. It was a very grave incident.

I hope and wish that every concerned person will ask how these people can sleep in their homes while their

not have the right to sleep soundly in our homes. Where is the government that guards and protects? As for Muhammad al-Dirani, I heard from his family that he was a man of longstanding relations with the Zionists. He gave information about al-Hajj Mustafa [al-Dirani] and was involved in the scheme to arrange a way to kidnap him. On the night of the kidnapping he came to al-Hajj [Mustafa al-Dirani's] house, made sure that he was at home, and reported to the Zionists that he was in his house.

Of course he had accomplices. That is all I know. As for where the man is and in whose hands, I don't know. I am sorry that when this news got out, the Lebanese Government, instead of issuing an order to find and arrest him because by his family's admission he was an accomplice, began searching to arrest his kidnapper. I think things are upside down in the country.

[Farra] Is he still alive, or has he been put to death?

[Al-Tufayli] I don't know. Nor do I know in whose hands he is.

[Farra] They say that he is in [the hands of] the party leadership.

[Al-Tufayli] I have no knowledge. You may have more information than I.

[Farra] What about Ron Arad?

[Al-Tufayli] According to my information, which is in some respects certain, he is definitely not with Hizballah. I, who was a secretary of Hizballah, know that he was not with me and not with the Iranians, because at one point the Iranians tried hard to find out where he was, but to no avail. It wasn't a coverup for anything; the efforts of the Iranians were serious. The Syrians, too, made efforts at one point.

I remember at the time when a Syrian pilot fled to Palestine. At that time we tried hard to learn something, particularly because the Iranians or Syrians were our friends and allies and supporters of the resistance. We were very eager that their position be strong to accomplish something in their interest, for that would serve the project of the resistance.

We therefore tried hard, even during the Syrian and Iranian efforts, to learn something about Ron Arad's location, but we failed. I can think of a possibility, but I have no proof of it.

Why has the person who has Arad kept him until now?

What result does he intend by keeping him?

There may be circumstantial evidence that he is dead, that something happened to him, or any other reason.

[Farra] There is information suggesting that Israel kidnapped al-Dirani because he knew where the Israeli pilot was being held and that he was the person keeping him. How true is it?

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has not known where Arad is.

Was he in his hands or not? That is a different question. I state categorically that for years he hasn't known whether Arad is alive or dead—and if he is alive, where he is, and if he is dead, where his remains are.

[Farra] Foreigners have often circulated your name in connection with kidnappings and hostagetakings. How do you explain this?

[Al-Tufayli] Ask them the question, not me.

For your information, I am fundamentally against hostagetaking. This has been my position since the first foreigner was taken. At that time the subject was not suitable to be spoken about publicly. I distinguish between hostagetaking, in which I do not believe and which I consider against the Shari'ah, and resistance, either to the American presence in Lebanon in 1982 or to the French or Zionist presence.

[Farra] How do you interpret actions against the Jewish presence in the world?

[Al-Tufayli] I am a Muslim. I adhere to Islam. What Islam says is permitted, is permitted. What Islam says is sinful, is sinful. I have no private line, no private path. We in Islam have principles and rules for how to act in peace and in war.

In war some things are wrong and others are allowed. There are things by which any Muslim fighter must be bound. The innocent may not be killed. Women may not be killed, nor may wounded children and the aged. You may not engage in aggression against a self-respecting state or people that does not attack you. These rules apply to Jews, Christians, Buddhists, Muslims, and all people. No Jew is different from another Jew. You may not harm a Jew to whom this rule applies. The Shari'ah says that if anyone bears arms to fight you, you must defend yourself, whether you call him Zionist, Jew, or Muslim.

[Farra] Do you distinguish between peaceful Jews and aggressive ones?

[Al-Tufayli] If there are Jews to whom the attributes of war do not apply, we must respect them.

This is something normal in the world. However, if the attributes of war apply to a Jew, a state of war exists between him and us.

[Farra] The suspects arrested by the Argentine government say they belong to Hizballah.

[Al-Tufayli] Argentina, as it has accustomed us, may apologize tomorrow or the next day for what it is doing today.

[Farra] 'Imad Mughniyah—does he belong to Hizballah?

[Al-Tufayli] As they accused me, as they accused the Islamic Republic, and as they accused the Iranians in the embassy and then apologized.

Whenever the West brings up a name, the name has to be disreputable because the West has condemned it.

[Farra] What is the difference between Ansarallah and Jundallah?

[Al-Tufayli] I don't know.

[Farra] Who funds Shaykh Subhi al-Tufayli?

[Al-Tufayli] Hizballah. The young men who dedicate themselves to the party receive salaries from it.

[Farra] How would you describe your relations with Iran after President Rafsanjani showed openness in his policies and advised Hizballah to participate in the 1992 elections?

[Al-Tufayli] Our relations with the Islamic Republic are very good. We think that the leader Sayyid Khamene'i is the Guardian of the Muslim Cause: Muslims must respect and obey his directives. The Islamic Republic was never closed that it should open up. It is a bad expression to say that there is an opening up in Iran. The Iranians have been wronged. Someone is imprisoned and tortured, and then they say, "You were the jailer."

[Farra] How do you explain the improvement in relations between Iran and the United States?

[Al-Tufayli] I don't know.

[Farra] How would you describe your relations with Hamas?

[Al-Tufayli] Good.

[Farra] Does Iran fund Hizballah?

[Al-Tufayli] Don't you have knowledge that Iran funds the resistance? We are proud that the Islamic Republic is the one state that supports the resistance and that Syria is the one state that stands by the resistance. Syria supported us at times according to its resources and our difficult position.

The economic situation in Syria is difficult. We feel every gratitude to the Iranians and Syrians. We respect the generosity they have shown toward the resistance.

[Farra] Where do you make your political decisions: in Beirut, Tehran, or Damascus?

[Al-Tufayli] Hizballah has its leadership that has been fully empowered. It makes its decisions in Beirut. We are ruled by Islam, not by persons. The Iranians have to adhere to Islam, and we likewise. We and the Iranians

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agree on applying peace [as published; "peace" (*salam*) may be a misprint for "Islam"].

If the Iranians come and say, "You must make peace with the Israelis," we shall reject what they say. I say this quite frankly.

[Farra] President Rafsanjani told the French newspaper LE FIGARO that the military men in power now in Algeria will go the way of the Shah in Iran. What is your opinion?

[Al-Tufayli] Optimism—and reasonably so, it seems. I respect Shaykh Hashemi-Rafsanjani's political vision. I think he is farsighted in these areas. He must have important data to have arrived at this cheering conviction.

[Farra] How do you assess the Gaza-Jericho agreement?

[Al-Tufayli] Gaza-Jericho is a scheme to confirm the Zionist Israeli presence in the consciousness of Palestinians, Arabs, and Muslims.

[Farra] What is your opinion about Israel's request that the South Lebanon Army (SLA) be merged with the Lebanese army if peace is signed?

[Al-Tufayli] We essentially reject the idea of peace with the Zionists. We think that those who have been drafted by the Zionist enemy are only hirelings and criminals. The Lebanese Government should punish them. If the Lebanese Government doesn't, it is harming itself and its credibility with the Lebanese people.

[Farra] Halting the resistance is one of Israel's conditions. What is your view of the proposal?

[Al-Tufayli] One of the conditions for halting the resistance is the disappearance of Israel.

[Farra] What do you think of the positions taken by Patriarch Nasrallah Butrus Sufayr?

[Al-Tufayli] Patriarch Sufayr has his own worries in his region and the complaints of the people. He is trying to communicate these worries to the officials. There is no contact between him and me. I cannot form a precise picture of his activity.

[Farra] Do you consider Muslim-Christian dialogue in Lebanon impossible?

[Al-Tufayli] No, on the contrary. Muslim-Christian dialogue is something necessary. If they could remove it from the sphere of political and sectarian conflict, I think they would be able to make important steps forward on the path of dialogue.

However, dialogue collides with local politics and with sectarian-political alignments. That is why it doesn't get anywhere.

[Farra] What is your opinion of the Synod?

[Al-Tufayli] One of the Synod's mistakes was to have entered through the sectarian door. The Synod gave a picture of itself before its results. From the beginning, anyone dealing with the subject of the Synod should have approached the matter from all doors, not only the sectarian one.

[Farra] Will Shaykh Subhi al-Tufayli run again for Hizballah general secretary? What is his political future?

[Al-Tufayli] I am a Muslim and man of religion. I lead the congregation in worship. I am for God and for those under occupation. I act on the basis of my responsibility under the Shari'ah. When I raised the question of the Zionist-American occupation in 1982, it was from my Shari'ah-based position, and today I raise it from my Shari'ah-based position.

Political positions—party leaderships or the like—are matters in which I am not interested.

[Farra] Do you want to form a new organization?

[Al-Tufayli] I am not even thinking about the Hizballah leadership. Do I want to think about forming a new organization because of its leadership? Certainly I am not thinking about that.

[Farra] Do you to some extent form an independent current now?

[Al-Tufayli] Everything that exists has its sphere.

[Farra] By whom is al-Tufayli influenced?

[Al-Tufayli] I am influenced first by my religion. I am a Muslim. I read the Koran and obey God's commandments. My teacher was the martyr Muhammad Baqir al-Sadr.

[Farra] And in the political struggle?

[Al-Tufayli] The pupil is influenced by his teacher. I greatly respect the martyred al-Sadr. He was a man of ideas who took great and valuable positions.

[Farra] Will Islam and the West reach a meeting point?

[Al-Tufayli] Let us distinguish between things. As long as men think and create, there will be numerous points of view.

SAUDI ARABIA

Shaykh Points Out Virtues of Manual Trades

95AE0004A Jeddah 'UKAZ in Arabic 5 Oct 94 p 20

[Article by Nimr al-Suhaymi in Medina: "There is Nothing Wrong With Manual Trades; the Prophets Were Not Ashamed of Them"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Despite the widening circle of awareness and despite the supply of academic vocational institutions that graduate educated metalworkers, mechanics, and plumbers, there are still young people

averse to trades; and there are still flimsy reasons in the face of realistic demands and community needs. For society will not be built by white-collar workers only, nor is it acceptable that the trades continue to be a cause of social shame, as some think them to be.

Of course, there are some fine people who transcend this social and psychological barrier, who have succeeded in restoring high regard to the trades, though their numbers are still limited, and one still must be cautious.

- Young people are still divided, despite the small number of management positions to which they aspire.
- Even though Fa'iz Suwaylih al-Sa'idi believes that manual trades are profitable and there is nothing wrong with them, in his view there are only certain people who engage in them: mostly foreigners. He is still waiting for a management position.
- Salim Ghanim al-'Umari had another excuse. He says that trades, like commercial projects, require capital.
- Majid Bakr, Sa'ud al-'Awfi, and Muhammad Jabir were content to be sarcastic. They asked, "Do you want us to be bakers, laundrymen, and garage mechanics?"
- 'Abdallah Sa'id al-Rab'i and 'Abd-al-Majid al-Shamari began, after obtaining diplomas from the Vocational Center, a small business specializing in refrigeration with a small amount of work. In record time, they earned an excellent reputation and became among the best working in that field. They found encouragement and acceptance from both individuals and institutions, and they won many maintenance contracts from government agencies.

'Abdallah and 'Abd-al-Majid said, "We have made huge profits and have seen nothing but respect and appreciation from society. In fact, now people trust us and prefer us to anyone else, just because we are Saudi. We understand the honor of work and took a chance, and we pay no attention to the talk of narrow-minded people."

- So social shame and low income and capital are all flimsy excuses; it only remains for us to bring in the Islamic aspect.
- Shaykh Sa'd Ibn-Hammud al-'Awfi, the well-known preacher in Medina, says first of all that it is not the right of any capable, able-bodied youth to abstain from vocational work or any other kind of work on any pretext.

Then he said that "It is better for a youth to embark upon honorable vocational work than to sit in the house when he is of an age to work.

"Neither silver nor gold rain from the sky, and the Prophet, peace be upon him, said, 'Work, for each man is rich in how he was created.'"

He condemned the condescending view of the trades, saying, "If Muslims are not allowed to be lazy to work for a living with the excuse that they want leisure time for

prayer, then what can we say of young people who refrain from work, when they are very capable of doing so?" He mentioned how the Caliph 'Umar, may God be pleased with him, once found a man in the mosque when it was not prayer time. When he asked the man the reason, he said it was for worship. "Who supports you?" he asked. "My brother." 'Umar said, "Your brother is worth more than you are," and struck him with his whip.

Shaykh Dr. Ahmad Hasan Mufti, Director General of the al-Manarat Schools in Medina, mentioned a saying of the Prophet from *The Book of the Little Mosque* of Shaykh al-Siyuti: "The best kind of earning is ethical trading and a man's work with his own hands." He also mentioned the saying of the Prophet which al-Bukhari reported in *The Gate of Sales*: "A man eats good food only if he earned it with his own hands. David, the prophet of God, ate what he earned with his own hands."

He addressed the young, saying, "Do you heed this great prophetic saying? Why do you leave these trades in the hands of foreign workers? For how long will you view manual labor as something that only servants do? For how long will the figs remain on their branches, waiting for someone to gather them?"

He added: "Our rightly-guided government, led by the Custodian of the Holy Places, has spared no effort to promote vocational trades. It has opened institutes and colleges and vocational centers throughout the country. I quote God Almighty: 'Say to whom abstains from God's ornament, which he provided for his servants, and good things as livelihoods.'" He said, "This divine verse is a response to the way young people disregarded herding and manual labor as legitimate ways of earning a living."

His Excellency Shaykh Dr. Muhammad Rabi' al-Madkhali, Professor of Dogma at the Islamic University, "It is the duty of young people to seek to serve their country, to serve themselves; and working with one's hands is a guarantee against poverty."

He added: "The prophets themselves, peace upon them, were not ashamed to work with their hands, and they are good enough exemplars for Muslim youth. There is nothing wrong with manual trades that benefit people, society, and the Muslim community."

Shaykh 'Abd-al-Karim al-Mutayri, the well-known Medina preacher, asserted the importance of raising public awareness in this field.

"The value of vocational work must not be belittled," he said. "It must be exalted. I believe that the increase in the salaries of vocational workers in government departments is proof that the government—may God preserve it—is encouraging vocational work, and has put the ball in the young people's and society's court."

Shaykh al-Mutayri expects that the condescending attitude toward the trades will not last long.

YEMEN

Al-Jifri Discusses Resistance, Other Plans

95AE0001A London AL-HAYAH in Arabic 29 Sep 94 p 6

[Interview with 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Jifri, deputy chairman of the Presidential Council, by Muhammad 'Allam in Cairo; date not given—first four paragraphs are AL-HAYAH introduction]

[FBIS Translated Text] 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Jifri, deputy chairman of the Presidential Council in the "Democratic Republic of Yemen," which was declared in south Yemen during the war, has said that a new south Yemeni alliance has been established and will be formally announced at a news conference in London tomorrow, Friday. He said that the objectives of this alliance will be to achieve reconciliation, beginning in the south and ending in the entire Arabian peninsula. He noted that the purpose of his visit to Egypt is to meet with the leaders and representatives of Yemeni organizations for consultations.

In an interview with AL-HAYAH in Cairo yesterday, al-Jifri disclosed that a committee will be formed to investigate the reasons for the easy overrunning of Hadhramaut during the war and the sellout schemes that took place. He noted that the leadership ('Ali Salim al-Bid) was the first to escape. He said secrets will be revealed soon.

Al-Jifri accused leader of the Socialist Party (YSP) in Sanaa of maneuvering to regain some of their posts. He said that the YSP did not represent the south, and the parliamentary elections that gave it a majority were rigged. He maintained that one of the mistakes in the unity agreement was considering the YSP as the embodiment of the south. He added that the YSP cannot serve as an opposition party in Yemen because it has been accustomed to being in power. Al-Jifri criticized the U.S. position on Yemen, saying it represented an uncommon case of flagrant contradiction that we hope will be corrected.

Al-Jifri arrived in Cairo the day before yesterday at the head of a delegation that comprised Salim Salih Muhammad, YSP assistant secretary general; Muhsin Bin-Farid, deputy prime minister, minister of Planning, and secretary general of the Yemeni People's League Party; Hazim Shukri, minister of Social Insurance and Social Affairs; Mustafa al-'Attas, minister of Awqaf; Ahmad al-Majidi, minister of Local Administration; and Sayf Muhammad Fadl, minister of state and member of the Yemeni National Grouping.

Following is the text of the interview:

['Allam] How do you view the coming period in Yemen in terms of ending the repercussions of the war, achieving stability, and establishing the southern opposition?

[Al-Jifri] All the people now reject the unity established in Yemen. They, however, support the principle of unity. This is because the unity advocated by the brothers in Sanaa is tantamount to an expansionist, authoritarian system. We in the south support unity. However, we all must participate in establishing the basis and principles of this unity. The future will be moving in this direction.

We also support comprehensive reconciliation in the following stages: national reconciliation in the south to overcome all the stages of political conflict, national reconciliation in the north, and then national reconciliation between the north and south to end all the conflicts of the past 30 years. Stability cannot be established in Yemen, and no one there can dream of it, as long as humiliation and oppression exist. A broader and more embracing reconciliation among the Arabian Peninsula states is needed to deal with past wounds and the positions of (Yemeni President) 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih and others. Without such gradual reconciliations, we do not think that stability will be achieved. This is what we are striving to achieve.

['Allam] How long, do you think, it will take to carry out these reconciliations?

[Al-Jifri] This depends on three basic factors: The first is the extent of our ability to explain our views to the others and to bring pressure to bear to achieve this objective. The second is the ability of the Sanaa regime to comprehend the situation. The third is the ability of the influential Arab and foreign countries to appreciate the mood of our people.

['Allam] How successful have you been in carrying out the first objective? Does your visit to Egypt come within this framework?

[Al-Jifri] We are doing our utmost in this regard. It is in this framework that our visit to Egypt is taking place. We are planning to announce the establishment of an alliance at a news conference in London tomorrow, Friday. The parties to this alliance are the same parties to the alliance that existed in Aden during the war. We decided to keep the door open to all those who agree with our views and objectives, which are to achieve the reconciliations I mentioned earlier. We will pursue all legitimate means to achieve our objectives, which also include restoring the south's status and achieving a formula acceptable to all.

['Allam] Have the Arab states in which you held talks accepted your views that the Yemeni war was against the south and not against the YSP?

[Al-Jifri] Yes, they have. They have more information than we do. Regarding the YSP, I cannot understand those who establish facts based on rigged and unfair elections. Had the results (the YSP's winning of a majority in the south during the parliamentary elections) been genuine, the entire population of the south would

have supported the YSP and fought. When at the beginning the war was between the YSP and the [General] People's Congress, the people were indifferent. When the republic was declared (in the south) after the fall of al-'Anad and it became clear to the people, particularly in Aden, that the war was directed against the south, Aden stood fast for 45 days without an army and with help of no more than 2,000 civilian volunteers. This was at a time when the northern army had deployed about 30,000 fighters, as I was told by a northern officer who was at the Dar Sa'd-al-'Anad front.

[Allam] Do you think that the YSP will become an opposition party?

[Al-Jifri] No one can say that the YSP will become an opposition party in the south. One of the mistakes made in the unity agreement was that 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih considered the YSP as the embodiment of the south. Before the union, we thought national unity should first be established within the south and within the north separately. In the south, there was no grouping to embrace all the factions. The contrary was true. I regard what is happening now to the brothers in the YSP as something natural. They have always been in power, and it would be difficult for them to survive for long outside it. Therefore, some brothers (from the YSP) in Sanaa are trying to maneuver to regain some of their posts. I do not think that the YSP can become an opposition because it is not accustomed to being in the opposition. Even those who opposed the Sanaa regime did so from their position of power in the south. I do not think that the YSP leaders who stayed with us outside Yemen will return home. They have joined our alliance.

[Allam] Can what you have said explain some of the mystery behind the easy overrunning of Hadhramaut?

[Al-Jifri] We will establish a committee to investigate this matter. Yes, there was a sellout and conspiracy by some people in Hadhramaut. The region fell without a single shot being fired by either side along a 1,000-km line. The leadership was the first to escape. A secret will be revealed soon.

[Allam] Do you believe popular resistance will continue in the south?

[Al-Jifri] The resistance against the Sanaa regime will continue, particularly in the south. It will continue also in the north because the south is not the only area that is suffering.

[Allam] Some people are talking about the enhanced strength of the Islah Party after the war. Are you concerned about the effects of this party's views on the achievement of reconciliation and stability?

[Al-Jifri] This will have a negative effect, because Islamic extremism in the north is nurtured by local and foreign authorities to distort the image of true Islam. 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih is presenting himself to the world, particularly to Egypt, as a person who can deal with extremism, whereas he is promoting it at home. Anyone who believes Salih will be miscalculating. Salih is playing the same role that Israel played in the past. Israel tried to make the West believe that it was standing as a barrier against leftist expansion when, in fact, it was the cause for leftist expansion in the area.

[Allam] What is the reason for your visit to Egypt?

[Al-Jifri] It is not an official visit. We came to meet with the expatriate brothers and colleagues in Egypt to discuss their situation and problems and to try to solve them. There are no plans for official contacts with Egyptian officials, because we do not want to involve anyone in the war.

[Allam] Do you have any plans to hold talks with the leaders in Sanaa any time in the future?

[Al-Jifri] We are not closing the door to reason, and talks are the way to reason.

[Allam] How do you view the relationship between Yemen and the Gulf states?

[Al-Jifri] The threat of the existing regime in Sanaa is also directed against the Gulf states. We must not allow stability to be undermined. The position of the Gulf Cooperation Council states is very satisfactory and important. Their position is that talks are essential to achieving a solution acceptable to all the parties. The same position was reiterated in the talks that took place in the area with British Prime Minister John Major and U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Robert Pelletreau.

[Allam] Do you feel that there was some ambiguity in the U.S. position during and after the war?

[Al-Jifri] I was not familiar with the U.S. position before the war, because the war broke out a few hours before I arrived in Sanaa to hold talks with Pelletreau at the U.S. embassy. The declared U.S. position during the war was sound. However, it seems that there was an undeclared position that was inconsistent with the realities. There was a mistake in the information the Americans had, and we hope it will be corrected. This position regrettably represents an uncommon case of flagrant U.S. contradiction.

[Allam] Do you think that this contradiction is one of the mysteries that will be revealed?

[Al-Jifri] This is not a mystery. The United States is entitled to pursue its own interests. We want to limit the damage to our country. The method the Americans are pursuing is inconsistent with Yemen's interests.

INDIA

Guidelines For Setting Up Export Zones Issued

95AS00074 Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 27 Aug 94 p 17

[Unattributed article: "Guidelines For Setting Up Export Zones"]

[FBIIS Transcribed Text] Bombay, August 26. The Government of India, with a view of augmenting infrastructural facilities for export production, has decided to permit the setting up of export processing zones (EPZ) in the private, joint or state sector.

An official statement said here today that the following guidelines would apply to such proposals:

- An EPZ can be developed and managed either privately or jointly by the government and a private agency or exclusively by the state governments or their agencies.

- In the case of privately developed zones, the investors could be either Indian individuals, NRIs (Nonresident Indians), Indian or foreign companies.

- The policy, procedures, and benefits applicable to units in the export processing zones will also apply to the units to be established in the private/joint sector EPZs.

Private or joint sector investment may also be utilised to develop additional infrastructure facilities including construction of standard design factory buildings in the existing EPZs. For this purpose land already available in the EPZs may be leased out to developers, *inter alia*, on the following terms and conditions:

- The land would, ordinarily, be leased for a period of 99 years.

- The lease rent, to be determined on the basis of cost of acquisition, development of land, would be payable annually in advance.

- Performance guarantee, to ensure proper utilisation within the time span decided upon, would be submitted before the possession of land is handed over.

- Units approved under the EPZ scheme only would be eligible to occupy space in the infrastructure so created. To ensure that only units conforming to the EPZ scheme operate in the zone, suitable agreement shall be obtained by the zone management from all the units permitted to be set up.

- Prior approval of the government would be obtained before any rights over the leased land or assets created thereupon are transferred, the government would have the first option for acquisition of such rights.

- The capital gains accruable on transfer of rights would be shared equally between the government and the promoters.

Proposals for setting up EPZs in the private/joint sector are required to meet the following conditions:

- The EPZs and units therein will abide by local laws, rules, regulations or bye-laws in regard to area planning, sewerage disposal, pollution control and the like. They shall also comply with industrial and labour laws and such other laws rules and regulations as may be locally applicable.

The EPZ promoters shall bear the custom bonding charges and also provide appropriate office accommodation for such government officials whose regular presence may be necessary in the zone.

Such EPZs shall make security arrangements and fulfil all the requirements of the customs laws, rules and procedures. Only units approved under the export-oriented unit scheme would be permitted to be located in these EPZs.

Proposals for establishing private/joint sector EPZs will be considered by an inter-ministerial committee set up for this purpose. Applications indicating the name and address of the applicant, status of the promoter along with a project report giving particulars should be submitted to the development commissioner.

On acceptance of the proposal, a letter of permission will be issued to the applicant. The approval will be subject to cancellation in the event of any abuse of violation of the conditions of approval.

Guidelines issued by the Reserve Bank of India (RBI) on real estate ownership/development by NRI and foreign/Indian companies, will also apply to the establishment of these EPZs.

Applications of units proposed to be located in such zones, will be entertained only after requisite notifications have been issued by Central Board of Excise and Customs.

In order to consider the proposals for setting up of EPZ, an inter-ministerial committee under the chairmanship of additional secretary (EPZ), ministry of commerce, has been established. The other members of the committee will consist of representatives of the department of revenue, ministry of environment, department of industrial development, the ministry of urban development, department of economic affairs, joint secretary (EPZ), ministry of commerce, development commissioner of the concerned zone, a representative of the state government. The director (EPZ), ministry of commerce will be the member-secretary.

The inter-ministerial committee will evolve guidelines for establishment of private/joint sector export processing zones, and consider all applications for setting up such EPZs and make suitable recommendations in this regard.

Israel Supplying Laser Systems for Long-Range Bombers

95AS0006A Madras *THE HINDU* in English
28 Aug 94 p 1

[Article by Atul Aneja: "India To Make Laser Bombs With U.S. Knowhow"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] New Delhi, Aug. 27. India is set to acquire state-of-the-art U.S. technology to make the highly accurate air delivered laser guided bombs, used against key targets. A similar technology is also being provided by Israel to be used by Jaguar planes which fly longer distances.

"The bomb senses laser beams released by a plane on a target and follows them till impact," sources here said.

A team of U.S. experts from Texas Instruments is in India to provide the laser sensor kits called Pave-Way-2 to be attached to conventional 1000 pound bombs.

Final "proof trials" of the "smart bombs" are expected in September end at an Indian Air Force firing range at Pokhran in Rajasthan.

The pin-point accuracy of the bombs in the battlefield was demonstrated first by Israel in 1983 when they were used to destroy Osirak, an Iraqi nuclear plant in which manufacture of nuclear bombs was suspected.

The United States attempted to assassinate the Libyan President, Mr. Qaddafi using the bombs on his palace.

The bombs were also used to destroy the Iraqi President, Mr. Saddam Hussein's Command centre in the early days of the Gulf war. "Precision bombs delivered from 10 km. can fall within 5 metres of target," sources here said. They become ideal weapons to destroy bridges and other key targets.

The bombs are also safer to use. A plane releases them far away from the target, escaping ground based missiles and anti-aircraft guns usually located close to high-value assets. Air turbulence and other atmospheric pressures can deflect the direction of a conventional bomb.

Laser bombs are fired after a TV camera on the plane spots the target and magnifies it. The pilot then "illuminates" the area by firing the lasers. Advanced computers prompt the release of the bomb which senses the reflected laser energy.

Laser System

Israel is providing India a laser system, CLDS [expansion not given], to be used by the long-range Jaguar planes to release the bomb when prompted by a support plane flying alongside. Successful trials have been carried out recently where laser illumination was done by one plane while the precision bomb released by a Jaguar followed the laser track.

The deal which was signed recently is yet another addition to a growing military hardware trade between New Delhi and Tel Aviv. Israel has already signed a deal to transfer 15 Remotely Piloted Vehicles (RPV) to be used to better guide the Prithvi missile on to distant targets.

Advanced sensors flown by the unmanned vehicle will send target data to a ground command centre linked to missile units.

Israel will also pitch in technology to an on-going Indian RPV programme.

Oil Commission Seeks Exploration Abroad

95AS0005A Madras *THE HINDU* in English
29 Aug 94 p 13

[Article by Sushma Ramachandran: "ONGC Seeking Greener Pastures Abroad"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] New Delhi, Aug. 28. The Oil and Natural Gas Commission's [ONGC] decision to participate in an offshore concessions in the Gulf of Suez is a significant step by the national oil exploration company towards becoming a global player. The company's international subsidiary, ONGC Videsh Limited [OVL] has so far taken only a 50 per cent participation in the concessions owned by British Gas, evidently in order to gain further experience in the international arena before going ahead to larger projects.

This is clearly only the first phase in the game-plan to explore abroad for oil and gas in order to ensure assured supplies of petroleum for the country. Some tentative proposals are also being examined for exploration in Russia as well as other CIS [expansion not given] countries where the leading oil majors have been taking a great deal of interest. The potential in the region is immense and India may ultimately gain in the long run by securing a foothold in some of the prospective areas.

The project in the Gulf of Suez concession appears, on the face of it, to be an even more attractive proposition. The West Asian region is the most highly prospective in the world, though the possibilities for the concession based on seismic surveys and geological studies has not yet been publicised. The project may be risky but certainly this factor is minimised with the concession being in the West Asian region.

The terms and conditions of the participation with British Gas have yet to be finalised, but OVL must have learnt some lessons in this regard from its initial venture on the international scene in Vietnam. The Vietnam offshore project has been the company's only other effort till now to carry out exploration abroad. The project in collaboration with British Petroleum did not meet with much success. But the problems faced in Vietnam will provide the company with invaluable experience in making a fresh beginning on the world scene in the Gulf of Suez.

While the launch of the ONGC's subsidiary into international exploration is certainly to be welcomed, it also raises certain disturbing issues over the role of the national oil companies within the country. Even as OVL is making investment in exploration in foreign waters, companies from abroad are being allowed to exploit Indian oilfields. According to ONGC officials, the proven oilfields, or those which had been discovered several years ago, could not be exploited owing to the resource crunch and therefore foreign and Indian private sector participation was allowed. But this argument no longer holds good as the country's foreign exchange reserves have swelled over the past two years, while the ONGC does not have any dearth of funds.

Despite the altered scenario, the proven oilfields have been handed over for development to private sector companies with little or no experience in the petroleum industry. Most of them have tied up with medium size foreign companies experienced in the energy sector in order to make up for this lacuna. Videocon, for instance, has tied up with Command Petroleum of Australia while Reliance Industries has entered into a collaboration with Enron of the U.S.

It is indeed ironic that these companies are being allowed to exploit fields discovered by the national oil companies, ONGC and Oil India Limited. In several cases, some investment had already been made in setting up platforms and drilling equipment at these fields. But with the entry of the private sector, the oil will be extracted by the consortia for which the country will have to pay at international prices. On the other hand, the payment would have been at the low rate of seven dollars per barrel of crude in case the domestic companies had been allowed to develop these fields.

Instead, ONGC is now seeking greener pastures abroad. Though the policy of investing in oil and gas exploration in other countries is unexceptionable, the national oil companies could also have been allowed to exploit discovered fields and thereby generate more revenue in the long run for activities in prospective regions abroad.

Paper Reports Rao 29 Aug Campaign Speeches

95AS0004A Hyderabad DECCAN CHRONICLE
in English 30 Aug 94 pp 1, 9

[Unattributed article: "PM: Good Days are Ahead"]

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Vijayawada, Aug 29: Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao on Monday thundered to an unprecedented crowd of over one million people consisting mainly of youth that the Congress is the only party that believed in secularism. "Congress is the future of the country and the future is Congress."

Mr Rao exuded confidence that the Congress which has 109 years of chequered history would flourish for another 200 years. No party, except the Congress has the capabilities to last five years in government either at the Centre or in the States.

Addressing the State level Congress-I convention at the historic Bhavanipuram where the first ever AICC [All India Congress Committee] session in the South was held in 1921, Mr Rao made it clear that he would discharge his responsibilities entrusted to him by ensuring peace which would alone contribute to the flow of foreign investment into the country.

Earlier at a public meeting after laying the foundation stone for the 1000 MW super thermal power project of the Hinduja National Power Corporation at Palavalasa village, about 35 km from Visakhapatnam, the Prime Minister told the gathering that the doubts over the country's political stability, creditworthiness and the law and order situation had been dispelled and foreign investments were pouring from all corners of the world.

"Foreign companies are vying with each other to set up joint ventures following our concerted efforts of liberalisation. Good days are ahead for the country," Mr Rao said. At the same time, he warned against recurring violence and social unrest which, he said, would hamper the development of the country. He sought the people's cooperation in maintaining peace and implementation of developmental programmes.

Allaying apprehensions over the entry of multinational companies in the country, he said joint ventures would give a fillip to employment generation and check brain drain.

There was encouraging response from the non-resident Indians to set up big projects in the country, he added.

The Prime Minister told the assembled gathering in chaste Telugu how the coffers of the Central Government were empty when he had assumed office. When we came to power, there was no money in the State exchequer. The previous government had bungled all along.

At the close of his 20-minute speech at Palavalasa, he said "give us peaceful conditions for the next three to four years to complete the unfinished task in the aftermath of the liberalisation of the economy."

At Vijayawada Mr Rao was happy at the mammoth turn-out of people, mainly youth, and said, "Thousands of crores of rupees of foreign investment would flow into the country, if peace is ensured. This investment would help not only boost the employment potential for the youth, but also enable the Centre to invest the money, which would have otherwise spent on largescale projects, for the rural development."

Referring to a series of blasts in Bombay, Mr Narasimha Rao said the violence had inflicted Rs 1,500 crore loss on the economy. The flow of investment into Bombay had come to a grinding halt for three to four months.

Each big project would require between Rs 4,000 and Rs 5,000 crore which the government could not afford to commit itself to it. If the government kept on investing

such huge money on largescale industries, it would be left with no funds for the development activities for the benefit of the poor, he said.

He stressed the need to ensure peace all over the country to take the country skyhigh, which he was confident of achieving. If the conducive situation, prevailing now, continued for three to four years, he pointed out, the country would achieve an unprecedented progress.

The Prime Minister said he was visiting Singapore and Vietnam in four to five days to attract investment from those countries. The Singapore government had offered aid to India. The Singapore Prime Minister even went to the extent of telling him that India always looked at the West for investment and why she did not approach his country.

During his visit to Britain too, he told those in power there that he could no longer be treated as "ruled" and he would not treat the Britishers as the "rulers" once. The British government too came forward to invest in the country and all the foreign capital would flow very soon.

Narrating his experience during the early days of his Prime Ministership; he said, the foreign powers used to 'harass' him by putting questions like "what is the guarantee that you (Mr Narasimha Rao) continue in power, because mine was a minority government then." He bluntly told them, after enduring all the harassment, "you (foreign powers) come here and contribute to the development of the country, if you want. Otherwise, you can go, I will salute you."

With his government securing majority in Lok Sabha, the foreign investors had started lining up to invest in the country. It was very difficult to give assurance to anyone that any government or any one in power would continue forever in democracy.

The situation in the country when Jawaharlal Nehru was the prime minister was different, when compared with that of the present. No country came forward to help the country built largescale industries during the early days of independence. When the Soviet Union had aided us to establish Bilai Steel Plant, then the Western countries too followed to give aid to the country.

Some of the Public Sector Units (PSUs) had collapsed and the government had no funds to keep the flow of investment into them. The government decided to save the money and encourage the private sector, so that it can undertake developmental activities and establish schools in rural areas.

This was the vast country in which development could not be immediately perceived, unless the progress was achieved throughout the country. If more projects were established in Tamil Nadu, people in Andhra Pradesh or Punjab would not be able to feel it. He intended to ensure even development of all States and regions.

Pointing to good turnout of youths at the convention, the Prime Minister assured them that he would always bear in mind their progress. He referred to the government's directive to the banks to grant loans to the unemployed youths at the rate of Rs 1 lakh each for providing self-employment.

Mr Rao complimented the farmers for promoting green revolution and said there were now 3.25 lakh tonnes of buffer stocks of foodgrains in the country. It has posed another problem because of lack of places to store them. The loss due to lack of storage facilities was the tune of Rs 2,000 crore a year.

To turn this too into beneficial schemes, the Centre had formulated a scheme to supply rice to social welfare hostels at subsidised price and promote rice-processing units to ensure that nutritious food is provided to the poor children through Integrated Child Development Services, he said. The Centre would ensure that 70 to 80 lakh tonnes are supplied to rice-processing units.

He called upon the people in the coastal districts to start rice-processing units to produce nutritious food which can remain for 10 to 15 days, so that the food can be provided to the children from poor families. This would help these children go to school, instead of doing hazardous jobs. He said 20 to 30 lakh children are working in hazardous factories.

He pointed out that the "Mahila Samridya Yojna" was launched by his government to facilitate that women get economic power. Under the scheme, investment by women in post offices would get 26 per cent interest. He was happy that the women in Andhra Pradesh led the country in investing small amounts.

[Passage omitted]

CPI-ML Campaigns Under Its Own Name for First Time

95AS0013A Madras THE HINDU in English
31 Aug 94 p 9

[Unattributed article: "CPI(ML) Wary of Poll Allies"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Patna, Aug. 30. Even while striving for an electoral alliance with "bourgeoisie parties," the CPI-ML [Communist Party of India-Marxist Leninist], [Liberation] is wary of the constituents it intends joining hands with for the forthcoming elections to the Bihar Assembly which are due in about six months.

This would be its maiden foray in the electoral arena, and the experiment of having any understanding with centrist forces would also be "a first" for the CPI-ML. It is for the first time that the party would be contesting elections under its own banner. The CPI-ML had contested elections under the Indian Peoples Front (IPF) banner which has since been dissolved and equally

important was the fact that the IPF had never joined hands with centrist forces at the hustings.

The State unit of the CPI-ML at its two-day executive meeting—which was attended by its national general secretary, Mr. Vinod Sharma—held here recently decided to go in for seat adjustments with the Janata Dal(G), the JMM(S) [Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (Jharkhand Liberation Front)] and the Samajwadi Party of Mr. Mulayam Singh Yadav, to defeat the minority ruling Janata Dal Government of Mr. Laloo Prasad Yadav.

It was felt that the Yadav Government had proved to be a disaster failing on all fronts and was thus losing support among the masses. The need to create an alternative force in the State was underlined and to achieve which it was necessary for some kind of adjustments with the three centrist forces.

The Left unity at least appeared a bleak possibility as the CPI(M) has announced its decision to contest elections in alliance with the ruling Janata Dal. But CPI-ML members were hopeful of some kind of change in the approach of the CPI maintaining that there was a division of opinion within their ranks about going along with Mr. Laloo Prasad Yadav. Both the CPI and CPI(M) are now supporting the minority Government of Mr. Yadav and voted against the no-confidence motion against his Government sponsored by the Congress during the recently ended monsoon session.

While a Left unity could well be ruled out, the CPI-ML was also aware of the limitations of the JD(G), JMM(S) and the SP [Superintendent of Police] with which it wanted to enter into an electoral alliance. The State unit secretary of CPI-ML, Mr. Pawan Kumar, admitted that the manner in which the JMM(S) leaders conducted their lok sansad in Ranchi recently did not rule out the possibility of that party striking a deal with Congress(I).

He, however, made it clear that they would join hands with the JMM(S) only on the condition that it would have nothing to do with the Congress(I). Equally important would be the stand of both parties vis-a-vis the proposed Jharkhand Autonomous Council.

The CPI-ML has so far earmarked 109 seats though a final decision was likely only after the district units completed their formalities and identified the main rivals.

The IPF won seven seats in 1990 and one Independent MLA [Member of Legislative Assembly] was its associate member. But four MLAs and the associate member quit the party and either joined the Janata Dal or continued to support it from outside. The CPI-ML has decided to ensure the defeat of these "betrayers" as well as that of the Janata Dal which it once supported.

Parties Take Stands on Entry of Foreign Media

Congress(I) Spokesman

95AS0010A Madras *THE HINDU* in English
3 Sep 94 p 1

[Unattributed article: "Congress(I) Now Favours Foreign Media Entry"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] New Delhi, Sept. 2. In a stunning somersault within 48 hours the Congress(I) today reversed its stand on entry of foreign media into the country and maintained that it has come to the conclusion after an indepth study of the subject that there should be no opposition to the entry of the foreign media.

The Congress(I) spokesman, Mr. Chandulal Chandrakar, took the correspondents at the regular party briefing by surprise when he announced the latest stand as only on Wednesday he had declared on behalf of the party that the time was not appropriate to allow the entry of foreign print media.

No sooner Mr. Chandrakar disclosed the revised stand of the party there were flood of questions from the correspondents as to what has prompted the Congress(I) to reserve its earlier stand and that too within a span of two days.

Mr. Chandrakar claimed that the six sub-committees of the Congress(I) Parliamentary Party constituted by the party president and the Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, have studied the media scene in the country indepth in the last few days and come to the conclusion that there was no harm in allowing the foreign media.

"After careful and detailed study of the newspaper scenario in the country and the changes in the environment it is felt that the Indian press can successfully compete with the foreign press and no one should object to its entry slowly and gradually," Mr. Chandrakar declared.

He, however, could not provide any details as to when these committees had met and deliberated on the issue particularly because none of them were asked to go into the tricky issue of entry of foreign print media. The sub-committees were essentially formed to look into subjects like progress of implementation of the manifesto promises and related issues.

Mr. Chandrakar maintained that whenever there was a meeting of MPs [Members of Parliament] all kinds of subjects cropped up for discussion and in such manner the subject of entry of foreign media had also figured in the meetings of the six sub-committees.

Latest Stand of Party

The spokesman admitted that he had given the impression on Wednesday that the rank and file of the party

was opposed to the entry of foreign print media into the country on the ground that it posed a grave threat to the cultural and national interests. Mr. Chandrakar, however, insisted that he was revealing the latest stand of the party in the light of the "new information" he has received from the Congress(I) Parliamentary Party.

The latest stand of the Congress(I) on the controversial subject comes after the spokesman had announced on Wednesday that the party was not in favour of entry of foreign print media in view of the the general feeling among the party workers that foreign newspapers and journalists should be kept at bay at present.

At the briefing on Wednesday Mr. Chandrakar had referred to the overwhelming opposition expressed by the Congress(I) as well as MPs from other parties on the floor of the Lok Sabha to the entry of foreign print media when the House discussed the subject and said that the mood of MPs was a reflection of the opposition from various quarters.

The revised stand of the Congress(I) on the subject of entry of foreign media assumes special significance in the light of the reports in a section of the press that the Cabinet Sub-Committee led by Mr. N.K.P. Salve to study the subject has favoured the entry of foreign media with certain conditions like retaining the majority equity and ownership by Indians.

The Union Human Resource Development Minister, Mr. Arjun Singh, who is one of the members of the sub-committee had disclosed in Bhopal on Thursday that the report of the sub-committee was with the Prime Minister. Mr. Arjun Singh had expressed the view that media was a sensitive field and it could not be equated with any other consumer product vis-a-vis allowing the foreign companies.

Rao Stand Favorable

95AS0010B Bombay *THE SUNDAY TIMES* in English
4 Sep 94 p 1

[Unattributed article: "PM Favours Move"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] New Delhi, Sept. 3. The Prime Minister, Mr P.V. Narasimha Rao, favours the entry of the foreign media into India. This was the main factor that compelled the Congress Party to first oppose the move and then support it.

Even though the human resources development minister and a member of the Cabinet sub-committee to look into this issue, Mr Arjun Singh, has opposed the entry of the foreign media, well-placed sources said that it is a foregone conclusion now that the Cabinet will give its seal of approval when the subject is brought on its agenda shortly. "If the Prime Minister wants it that way, no one can stop it," said a minister member of the Cabinet sub-committee.

Sources said that the opening up of India to the foreign print media was a logical outcome of the liberalisation policy and one could not argue that all other areas except the media should be accessible to foreign companies.

However, it was also pointed out that Mr Rao's firm stand on the issue was perhaps born out of his desire to create goodwill on a global basis. "He stands to lose politically by shutting out the foreign print media. By allowing them in, he creates a new constituency for himself," said one of the ministers who is on the Cabinet sub-committee.

A former information and broadcasting minister said informally that the party spokesman, Mr Chandulal Chandrakar, had spoken on the subject in reply to questions without any briefing from the top party leadership. Mr Chandrakar had apparently gone by the debate in the Lok Sabha and had even said that if the government decided to allow the foreign media in, the party knew how to persuade the government to change its decision. All of these have turned out to be off-the-cuff remarks and the damage done had to be repaired within 48 hours.

It is also no secret that the two spokesmen, Mr V.N. Gadgil and Mr Chandrakar, are seldom briefed by the top leadership on what to tell the press. Mr Gadgil himself admitted some time back in reply to questions at his briefing that meetings with the Congress President were few and far between.

The Cabinet sub-committee formed to go into the question of allowing the foreign media into the country has had two sittings and its report is to go to the Cabinet. It is headed by Mr N.K.P. Salve and comprises Mr Manmohan Singh, Mr Arjun Singh, Mr Pranab Mukherjee and Mr K.P. Singh Deo.

Mr Arjun Singh is understood to have expressed his misgivings on the issue at the sub-committee's meeting, maintaining that it was not in the national interest to allow the foreign print media into the country as newspapers were not a product like toothpaste or shoe polish.

As to whether Pakistan newspapers would be allowed entry, the position is that since the Foreign Investment Promotion Board has to clear each application on a case by case basis, it is unlikely that an application from any newspaper organisation in Pakistan would be given clearance.

Janata Dal, BJP

95AS0010C Calcutta *THE SUNDAY STATESMAN*
in English 4 Sep 94 p 6

[Unattributed article: "Cong-I Stand on Foreign Media Contradictory, says Dal(G)"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] New Delhi, Sept. 3.—The Janata Dal(G) leader and former Lok Sabha Speaker, Mr

Rabi Ray, has described the ruling party's stand on the entry of foreign media as "entirely antithetical."

In a Press statement, he said, allowing the foreign media entry would make the country vulnerable to the Western value system and expressed fear that the Western media would exercise control over the Indian intellect.

The BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] too spoke against the entry of foreign print media into India today, adds UNI [United News of India]. It said this was neither a necessity nor in the interests of the country's security and cultural environment.

The party criticized the Congress(I) spokesman's volte-face and urged the Centre to convene an all-India meeting to discuss the issue.

The Congress(I) tonight indicated it had not taken any view on the issue, adds PTI [Press Trust of India].

The party spokesman, Mr Chandulal Chandrakar, said, "I would like to clarify what I said in yesterday's Press briefing. I have now look into the issue regarding the entry of foreign media. The group of Ministers have now submitted a report to the Cabinet. The report will be considered in due course."

Pressure From Hinduja

95AS0010D Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English
5 Sep 94 p 1

[Unattributed article: "Pressure From Hinduja on Allowing Foreign Media"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] New Delhi, Sept. 4.—Pressure from the Hinduja, who have reportedly tied up with an international newspaper chain, is said to be building up to ensure that the Government allows the entry of the foreign media. The Cabinet Committee, constituted for the purpose, is being forced to give its report in record time.

The committee is reported to have recorded the views of all the members. There was a consensus on permitting the foreign media on certain conditions, such as allowing only Indians as majority shareholders and editors.

However, Mr Arjun Singh, a member of the Cabinet panel, who has publicly opposed the move, is reported to have expressed serious reservations, echoing the sentiments of all the MPs [Members of Parliament] who had unanimously opposed the move.

The committee, which met a day after Parliament adjourned on August 25, had been under great pressure to push through the report. It did not think it fit to ask for the views of one of the members, Mr Pranab Mukherjee, since "his views were well-known." Mr Mukherjee was out of Delhi when the meeting was held.

Official sources said that although some reports indicated that Mr Narasimha Rao was himself keen on

allowing the foreign media, the Prime Minister had never made a statement to the effect that the foreign media should be allowed.

Sources pointed out that evidence of the pressure from the Hinduja was available in the flip-flop statements of the party spokesman, Mr Chandulal Chandrakar. On the first day, he is reported to have announced the ruling party's opposition to the move. On the second day, obviously under pressure, he claimed that a section of the party had accepted the view that the foreign media should be allowed. Finally he went back on the statement and clarified that there was no such move in the party.

The impression is that Mr Chandrakar's second statement was to convey the impression that the move had the support of the party. A partyman explained that this was necessary because the Cabinet was in effect reversing a decision taken in 1955 when Nehru had chaired the Cabinet meeting.

There is a growing impressions that the move will be "pushed through" without a wider debate in Parliament.

Opposition From CPI-M

95AS0010E Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 5 Sep 94 p 1

[Unattributed article: "CPM Against Entry of Foreign Media"; quotation marks as published]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] New Delhi, Sept. 4. The Communist Party of India (Marxist) [CPM] today warned the Centre that its decision to allow the foreign print media to enter here would result in external interference in the country's internal affairs.

In a statement, the CPM politburo said allowing the foreign print media to publish newspapers and periodicals would "open floodgates for external interference in the country's internal affairs and democratic system which is the concern of India's citizens."

Strongly resenting the Narasimha Rao government's decision on foreign media, saying it is a reversal of the long-standing prohibition imposed by the Nehru government in 1955, the CPM asked the government to "desist from any such step which will have incalculable consequences for the country's sovereignty and democratic polity."

The government must seek the opinion of the public, political parties and intellectuals before taking a final decision, it said.

The Bharatiya Janata Party has also threatened to mobilise public opinion against any move to allow foreign print media into the country, the party president, Mr L.K. Advani said in Gulbarga, Karnataka, today.

He was speaking to newsmen before leaving for Pune, having completed his three-day 'Bharat Parikrama' tour

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of Andhra Pradesh. He said the Congress had made a "distress volte face" by first stating that its rank and file were reversing its stand apparently under external pressure.

He said Indian news agencies were in a bad shape financially and if foreign news agencies were allowed to operate with enormous resources, "I can't visualise what the consequences would be." He expressed fears that the foreign media would present a coloured point of view.

Press Council Chairman

95AS0010F Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 8 Sep 94 p 7

[Article by Ashish Mullick: "Press Council Must Be Consulted on Media Policy"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] New Delhi, September 7. The chairman of the Press Council of India, Justice R.S. Sarkaria, is of the view that the council should be consulted before the cabinet takes a final decision on allowing foreign media companies to set up shop in India. "They are expected to consult us under the Press Council Act of 1978. Traditionally, they have always done so on important matters relating to the media," Mr Justice Sarkaria said.

He said professional organisations of journalists should also be consulted as journalists will be directly affected by any move to allow foreign print media into the country.

The Press Council is a statutory organisation entrusted with the task of examining and advising the government on issues relating to the press.

"The Salve committee did not consult us on the issue, but now the decision rests with the Union Cabinet, they may refer it to us," said Mr Sarkaria. "The majority of Press Council members have vehemently opposed it, as they feel it is not right."

Among those foreign media companies vying to enter the Indian market are Britain's Pearson Group, publisher of *The Financial Times* and *The Economist* and the Time-Warner group of the U.S. While the former plans to start a joint venture with the Ananda Bazar group of publications, the latter is slated to tie up with Living Media India Ltd, publishers of *India Today* and start an Indian edition of *Time* magazine. Other players include the *International Herald Tribune*, which is reportedly tying up with the Hindujas, and *Ellie* and *TV Guide*, an American magazine owned by Mr Rupert Murdoch's NewsCorp.

The volte face of Congress spokesman, Mr Chandulal Chandrakar, on the party's stand on the issue and the reported interest of the Prime Minister, Mr P.V. Narasimha Rao, is indication enough that the doors will be thrown open to the foreign media. But to do this, the Cabinet will have to modify the 1955 policy decision by

the Jawaharlal Nehru government, which prohibits foreign print media entry in the areas of news and current affairs. That decision was taken on the basis of the recommendation of the first press commission.

In 1980, the second press commission headed by Justice K.K. Mathew considered the same issue and recommended that in the light of changing circumstances a specific law can be passed, barring foreign companies and individuals from taking up ownership of Indian papers or journals, either in the form of shares or loans. Recently, on June 22, 1993, the Press Council stated that, "it does not favour publication of foreign newspapers and journals in India involving equity/management participation."

The Salve committee has laid down three conditions for foreign media entry. These include allowing them not more than 49 per cent holding in Indian publications, and vesting editorship and board majority with Indians. But limiting their share to 49 per cent will not ensure that joint publications will remain free. Manipulating the 2 per cent to gain control of a publication is more than possible, say veteran publishers, who have been in the forefront of the opposition to foreign media entry.

Moreover, constitutional experts point out that clause 1 (a) of article 19 of the Indian Constitution guarantees the right to freedom of speech and expression "only for Indian citizens."

Pakistani Interference With Hindu Pilgrimage Claimed

94AS0502A Calcutta SAPTAHIK BARTAMAN
in Bengali 3 Sep pp 5-8

[Article by Jayanta Ghoshal: "Pilgrimage to Amarnath: Why Do Pakistani Agents Want to Stop it?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Pakistan decided that this year they would spoil the pilgrimage to Amarnath. When the pilgrims were on their way to Amarnath, the militants threw grenades on their path. In the beginning, the Border Security Force [B.S.F.] Officials decided that the B.S.F. would not counter-attack the militants even if they threw grenades on the pilgrims or in the crowded markets. As the attacks from the militants increased, Mr. D.K. Arya, the Director General of B.S.F. ordered the B.S.F. to counter-attack the militants. There was nothing to do if in the course of counter-attack ordinary civilians were killed. There was no other way to stop the militants. The B.S.F. soldiers wanted that kind of order, because, they noticed that when they were marching in a group, the militants threw grenades on them from the crowd. In such an incident, some B.S.F. soldiers got killed and those who were alive could not counter-attack as they did not have the order to do so. When the pilgrimage to Amarnath began this year and information was received that Pakistan wanted to spoil the pilgrimage, the soldiers of B.S.F. and army got the order for counter-attack. No pilgrim to Amarnath got killed this year. Though some

not carry out any large scale attack. Now we have the questions: (1) Why Pakistan wants to spoil the pilgrimage to Amarnath and why each year the Pakistani militants carry on the attacks? (2) Why the Pakistani militants' attacks failed this year? Firstly, Pakistan wants to spoil the Amarnath pilgrimage to establish their authority over Kashmir. Pakistan wants to prove that Kashmir is a Muslim inhabited place. The existence of Hindus in Kashmir and a Hindu place of pilgrimage over there is an obstacle for Pakistan to expand their influence in Kashmir. In Kashmir, there are Hindu temples in Anantanag and the temple of Shankaracharya in Sri Nagore. When Mr. Jagmohan was the governor of Kashmir, the path to the Shankaracharya temple was rebuilt and sufficient lighting arrangement was made. The Shiva temple of Amarnath in Phalgaon then became a place of tension. Secondly, after the arrest of Yakub Memon, the way anti-Pakistani propaganda has been going on, many people have been saying that Pakistan has become weak and Inter-Services Intelligence [I.S.I.], the Pakistani intelligence agency, got a rude shock. To disprove this notion, Pakistan wanted to spoil the Amarnath pilgrimage through some militant organizations. Thirdly, if they can spoil the Amarnath pilgrimage, it would be easier for I.S.I. to preach the ideas of Islamic fundamentalism. I.S.I. is training some young Muslims in different states and if this pilgrimage is spoiled, it would be in their advantage to expand their ideological influence on those young Muslims. Fourthly, besides the Pakistani militants, the other militants from Afghanistan, Iran, Sudan and Lebanon, who are living there, are recently getting frustrated. Some of these militants are returning to their homes and many of them have already fled. To reduce their frustration, the Pakistani intelligence agency I.S.I. and the geographical society have chalked out a plan to carry out an attack within a short period of time. The militants are suffering from shortage of food supply and some other problems of logistics. Mainly for these reasons, Pakistan is trying to spoil the pilgrimage to Amarnath. The journey to Amarnath begins just after the independence day of 15th of August. As the journey begins just after three days of the independence day, Pakistan thought that if they could create a disturbance, the consequences would be significant. The hoisting of the Pakistani flag and the burning of Indian flag on independence day has become a routine affair. At that time, the two organizations—Harkat-ul-Ansar and Hizb-ul-Islam declared that they would stop the pilgrimage to Amarnath. Jammu-Kashmir Liberation Front [JKLF], however, had taken a moderate stand from the very beginning. During that period, one incident proved that how active the Pakistani militants were. On the eve of the pilgrimage to Amarnath, in a newspaper statement the deputy commissioner of police of Anantanag said that he cannot take the responsibility of the security of the pilgrims as the Pakistani militants threatened to kill them. The home secretary of the central government Mr. Padmanavaiya became furious after getting the news. He told them that if they cannot

they would be arrested by the Terrorist and Reputed Activities Act [T.A.D.A.] act. The central home ministry had the information that those two officials were under the influence of Pakistani militants. Many police officers in Kashmir have become a doll in the hands of the militants. After the threat of the home secretary, both the officers said in a statement that the news published in the newspaper in their name was not true. The whole thing was baseless and motivated. In this tensed situation the pilgrimage to Amarnath began. It was heard that almost twelve thousand pilgrims arrived at Jammu to pay their homage to Lord Shiva at Amarnath. In addition to their regular duty of protecting the border, thirty five battalions of soldiers from army and thirty five battalion soldiers from B.S.F. were posted to protect the security of the pilgrims through out the route. By the side of the whole route of the pilgrims from Jammu to Phalgaon, the soldiers erected small camps. When the pilgrims reached Phalgaon, the complete responsibility of their food and lodging was taken up by the B.S.F. and the army and they were successful in protecting the security of the pilgrims in the three hundred kilometer route. In Chandanwari, alone there were erected 250 camps where almost ten thousand pilgrims took shelter. The government had prior information that the Pakistani militants could launch an attack. So, before the pilgrimage to Amarnath, the government removed the bunkers from around the Hazratbal mosque and it was opened for worship to the Muslim visitors. The Pakistani militants wanted to propagate that if the Muslims could not get right to enter into the Hazratbal mosque, why should an ordinary Hindu could go to Amarnath. To diffuse such a communal propaganda and excitement, the government took such a decision about the Hazratbal mosque. The announcement of the government put the leaders of the militant organizations supported by Pakistan in trouble. The government from the very beginning took the strategy to create division among the militant organizations. So, the government projected the moderate organization like the JKLF from the beginning. It is significant that the hunger strike of a leader like Yasim Malik got huge publicity in the government media. Even Yasim Malik was brought to Delhi and to project him more the government declared that the bunkers were removed by accepting the demand of JKLF. As a result, the organizations like Hezb-ul-Islam and Harkat-ul-Ansari became annoyed. They now wanted to create a trouble to foil the credit of the government. Due to this tensed situation, B.S.F. and army are taking the pilgrims to Amarnath in three to four separate groups. Though the pilgrims were not given individual escorts, security was tight through out whole route. One officer of the central home ministry said that—(1) the burning of Indian national flag on 15th August, or hoisting of black or Pakistani flags in some areas of Kashmir is a regular incident. We were not at all thinking about that. (2) Recently, pro-Pakistani youth, even boys are throwing grenades in the crowd. Grenades are there in homes. They wrap rugs around them in cold and suddenly throw grenades in the crowd and flee. It

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the grenade explosion repeatedly took place on the journey route, it was clear that the apprehension of the government was not baseless. The killing zone of a grenade is nine meters and its danger zone is thirty meters. The grenades are of two types. One is four second delay grenade that explodes in four seconds after throwing. The other type of grenade is called 'impact' which explodes instantly. There is a little pin below this grenade and it explodes when that pin is pulled. The Pakistani militants spread these grenades. The B.S.F and army erected 'road opening parties' [ROP] where they were posted by the side of the road. Whenever a grenade exploded, they counter-attacked. The militants chose the crowded areas for grenade attack so that large number of people could have been killed. One of the top officials of B.S.F. said that the number of B.S.F. soldiers in Kashmir at present is 19,400 and there are two regular army divisions which means 20,000 soldiers. Ten thousand B.S.F. soldiers are in the border and they have separate responsibility. According to the intelligence report the number of militants in Kashmir is 2000. They are now coming to the Doda area of Jammu through Pir Panjal range. The official also said that it is difficult for the Pakistani militants to come through the hill tracts in the monsoon period. It has been said in the intelligence report that after the monsoon, the Pakistani militants could launch attacks. The monsoon weather helped India to foil the plan of the militants to stop the pilgrimage to Amarnath. The government is now reviewing the intelligence report along with the intelligence report provided by the B.S.F and the army. One military official said that almost all the militants took shelter in the Sopore district of Kashmir and it almost went in the hands of Pakistani militants. There was a B.S.F camp in the J&K Bank in Sopore, but no government officer entered the bank out of fear. It was completely a hill area and the militants erected bunkers by the sides of the roads. The two sides of the bunkers were guarded by sand bags. In last December, one commissioner went there and wanted to work courageously. He was immediately kidnapped by the militants. Finally, the B.S.F raided the place and freed the commissioner from hands of the militants. Since then fighting was going on in Sopore. Recently, B.S.F and army jointly raided the place and it was freed from the control of the militants. As a result, the militants residing there, were scattered around different places and some of them were arrested and some of them fled through the hill tract. One B.S.F official said that the capability of the organized attack of the militants reduced to a large extent as they are scattered now. The militants still have their wireless sets by which they can communicate with Pakistan. The raids of the Pakistani militants on the pilgrims to Amarnath have been successfully stopped this year, but Pakistan will repeatedly try to spoil the pilgrimage to Amarnath.

[Article by Atun Bhattacharya: "The Ayodhya Issue and the Four Shankaracharya"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The four successors of Adi Shankaracharya now-a-days have become more interested in matters of material interests leaving their religious and spiritual research. The four Shankaracharyas are getting so much involved in politics and governmental activities and this problem began in the leadership of the religious matters of the Hindus. Even the Viswa Hindu Parishad [VHP] and Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh [RSS] leadership are expressing their displeasure against the Shankaracharyas. These four Shankaracharyas are Jagatguru Bharati Tirtha of Shringeri, Swami Nishchalanada Saraswati of Puri, Swami Jayendra Saraswati of Kanchi and Swami Swarupananda of Dwarakapith. They, according to Viswa Hindu Parishad and RSS leadership, are working with prime minister Narasimha Rao and are planning to build the temple of the birth place of Lord Rama outside the controversial land in Ayodhya. They have already established a trust to build the temple with the help and support of the government. Ashok Singhal, Swami Bamdev Maharaj, Swami Dharmendra Acharya, and Swami Giriraj Kishore of Viswa Hindu Parishad warned that Hindu society will not accept their work. If the Shankaracharyas do not stop working with the government, an movement will begin. It means that the Hindu society has become divided on the activities of the four Shankaracharyas. Both the camps are getting ready. The important thing is no other religious minority community raised any complain against the four heads of Hindu religion. The Complaint was raised from within the Hindu community. The Viswa Hindu Parishad leadership now started to talk against the Shankaracharyas forgetting their slogan of Hindu unity. The basic characteristics and the hypocritical nature of the Hindu fundamentalists have been revealed. The Hindu fundamentalists wanted to gain political and communal benefit by destroying the Babri mosque and building the Ram temple. When they see that their plan is getting disrupted as the Shankaracharyas are making a project to build the temple with the help of the government, they now start to shout against the Shankaracharyas. By doing this, they are unmasking themselves in one hand and putting their political front Bharatiya Janata Party [BJP] in trouble on the other hand. BJP got the immediate result of the destruction of the Babri mosque when they lost the election in Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Himachal Pradesh. Vishwa Hindu Parishad's shouting against the Shankaracharyas has become a matter of concern for BJP. On the other hand, BJP is also worried that if the Shankaracharyas build the Rama temple with the help and support of the government, Congress will reap the harvest of it in the next election. BJP is really in bad shape on the issue of Ayodhya. The question is what

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side BJP will take? The choice is between the militant leadership of Vishwa Hindu Parishad and the four Shankaracharyas. The whole situation has been intelligently crafted by the clever prime minister Narasimha Rao who is a Brahmin from South India. He wants his Congress party to win the next election. By using the four Shankaracharyas he not only confronted the Viswa Hindu Parishad, but also created a division in the Ayodhya movement. Vishwa Hindu Parishad is now shouting against the Shankaracharyas and the holy men have become controversial figures. At the present situation, what is the role of the four Shankaracharyas? The first or the original Shankaracharya was one of the brightest leaders of traditional Indian civilization. He began a new era in the history of Hindu religion almost 1250 years ago. His preaching of traditional Hinduism and Advaita is still considered as one of the most glorious period in the history of Indian civilization, culture and philosophy. He established four centers in four different parts of India for the preaching of his philosophy and ideals. The heads of these four centers are the four Shankaracharyas. The present Shankaracharyas came from that age old traditional legacy. In the past, all the Shankaracharyas usually engaged themselves in spiritual research. These four present Shankaracharyas have gotten openly involved in politics. It can be said that the Shankaracharya of Shringeri center the Jagatguru Bharati Tirtha took the initiative in this matter. He is only fortytwo years of age. Though he is the youngest among all other Shankaracharyas, but he is the richest among them as the Shringeri center has fabulous wealth. This Shankaracharya residing in New Delhi for over a month is taking the effort to build the Rama temple in Ayodhya. He is maintaining close connection with Narasimha Rao government and the Congress party and working against Viswa Hindu Parishad. He is able to bring the other three Shankaracharyas in his side. His close associate Gourishankar, one officer Kishore Kunal and prime minister's information advisor Prasad are keeping the connection between the Shankaracharya camp and the government. Prime minister Narasimha Rao is considering to form the Rama temple building trust in Ayodhya under the leadership of this Shankaracharya of Shringeri. The Shankacharya of Dwaraka center Swami Swarupananda is also in line in this matter. The Shankaracharya of Dwaraka is also very close to the Congress party and he took part in the 'Quit India' movement in 1942 as a freedom fighter. He is also a center of speculation. If the Shankaracharyas get close to the Congress government in this way, the complicity with the Ayodhya issue will rather increase.

BJP Leader: Troops Must Be Recalled From Somalia

95450011A Bombay THE SUNDAY TIMES OF INDIA in English 4 Sep 94 p 9

[Unattributed article. "Vajpayee for Recall of Indian Troops"]

[FBIIS Transcribed Text] Cuttack, Sept 3. Expressing grave concern over the continuing attack on the Indian Peace-Keeping Force in Somalia, the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] leader, Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee, yesterday demanded that the Centre immediately withdraw all Indian troops stationed there.

Referring to the killing of seven Indian troops last week and three doctors on Wednesday, Mr Vajpayee said at a press conference here that the situation had become serious. Under the circumstance, Indian troops should be withdrawn from Somalia, he added.

He said India had sent its contingent to Somalia under the United Nation's arrangement for peacekeeping purpose. "But the United Nations has failed to ensure the safety of our forces there," he alleged.

Describing it as a "serious situation" he pointed out that the U.S. had already recalled its forces stationed there followed by Italy. He said Indian soldiers were being attacked by a "private army" raised by a person who a few years ago was Somalia's ambassador in India. He was out to capture power and the nearly 5,000 Indian forces stationed there have become targets, he said.

Mr Vajpayee said the UN secretary-general, Mr Butros Butros Ghali, was coming to India soon and it was high time the Centre took up the matter with him.

Mr Vajpayee said it was heartening that during their stay in Somalia, the Indian contingent had earned the goodwill of the local people. However, since the Indian troops were sent with a "limited role and certainly not to fight," they should be withdrawn immediately, he added.

On the Indo-Pakistan relations, he said the continuing tension between the two countries was unfortunate. He felt that unless Pakistan gave up its "Kashmir phobia," bilateral relations would not improve. Referring to Pakistan's former prime minister, Mr Nawaz Sharif, Mr Vajpayee said his recent remarks about Pakistan having atomic weapons had only confirmed the truth.

The BJP leader, who has come here under his party's "Bharat parikrama programme," assailed the Congress government at the Centre for its "failure on all fronts." He described the Prime Minister, Mr Narasimha Rao's assertion that India had made tremendous progress in the last few years as a "hollow claim." Although officially it was said that inflation had come down by a few points, in reality the prices of all essential commodities had soared, he said.

Due to the "faulty" budget policy of the government, over two lakh industries had closed, leaving lakhs of people jobless. The spirit of self-reliance had been abandoned while the liberalised economic policy had widened the economic disparity in the country.

Mr Vajpayee said that in their zest for implementing the new economic policy, the government had ignored the backward areas. Stating that there was a need to accord

"special care" to these areas, he cautioned that unless steps in this regard were taken, it would lead to an unfortunate situation.

He maintained that the spirit of swadeshi had to be kept alive, as the country's interest lay in it.

Papers Report Home Minister's Moscow Visit

Fight Against Drugs, Crime

95AS0012A Madras *THE HINDU* in English
4 Sep 94 p 1

[Unattributed article: "Extradition Treaty Likely"; quotation marks as published]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow, Sept. 3. India and Russia have agreed to take all steps to jointly combat terrorism, drug trafficking, arms smuggling and illegal immigration.

The announcement was made jointly by the Union Home Minister, Mr. S.B. Chavan, and the Russian Interior Minister, Mr. Viktor Yerin, at a press conference here on Friday at the end of the former's week-long visit to Russia.

Both countries have also in principle agreed to sign an extradition treaty and other additional agreements to give their bilateral cooperation adequate legal basis, Mr. Yerin said.

He said Russia would scrutinise the Indian proposal for an extradition treaty and expressed the hope that the agreement could be signed soon.

Mr. Chavan said India was pressing for an extradition treaty as it would play an 'important role as a deterrent' and not because there was any specific information about terrorists in Moscow. He denied stating at a press conference before his departure from India that there were Sikh terrorists based in Moscow.

Mr. Yerin concurred with Mr. Chavan's assessment on the need for an extradition treaty. Such a treaty "is a fundamental document in civilised relations between two States," he added.

Mr. Yerin said the issue of the smuggling of fissile material was raised by the Russian side and Mr. Chavan was fully briefed. The two sides agreed that in such matters the public should be informed after scrupulous analysis and study by experts.

Mr. Chavan, describing his visit as 'successful,' said it had "contributed substantially to further strengthening mutual understanding and arriving at decisions aimed at intensifying bilateral cooperation to combat terrorism, narcotics smuggling organised crime and other problems."

He said his discussions with Russian leaders were wide-ranging and were held in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

Both the Ministers stressed that the visit helped to give practical shape to the cooperation that had been outlined in agreements signed earlier during the visit of the Russian President, Mr. Boris Yeltsin, to India in January 1993, the visit of the Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, to Russia this year and Mr. Yerin's visit to India in October 1993.

Asked about the law and order situation in India, Mr. Chavan lashed out at Pakistan and blamed the ISI [Information Service of India] for fomenting trouble in Kashmir and Punjab.

He said Pakistan-trained militants were being pushed into India to destabilise the situation in the country, but expressed confidence that the Government would be able to tackle this challenge successfully.

Earlier, in a gesture reflective of the importance Russia attaches to relations with India, Mr. Chavan was received by the Russian Prime Minister, Mr. Viktor Chernomyrdin.

During the meeting Mr. Chavan once again extended an invitation to the Russian Premier to visit India this year. Diplomatic sources indicated that Mr. Chernomyrdin was likely to visit New Delhi sometime this December.

At the meeting, Mr. Chernomyrdin reportedly described 1994 as the "year of India" for Russia—an apparent reference to the spate of high-level contacts between the two countries this year.

Mr. Chavan also met the Russian Foreign Minister, Mr. Andrei Kozyrev, on Friday morning. Mr. Chavan returned to Delhi tonight.—PTI [Press Trust of India], UNI [United News of India]

Improved Relations Noted

95AS0012B Bombay *THE SUNDAY TIMES OF INDIA* in English 4 Sep 94 p 13

[Article by Ayesha Kagal: "Indo-Russian Ties on Upswing"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow, Sept. 3. The growing frequency of high-level exchanges between India and Russia show that bilateral relations are back on track with the rupture that followed the demise of the ex-Soviet Union now a thing of the past.

Indian leaders and senior officials have been arriving in Moscow in rapid-fire succession since the Prime Minister, Mr P.V. Narasimha Rao's visit in June-July.

This week, the home minister, Mr S.B. Chavan wrapped up his tour with an agreement to conclude an extradition treaty with Russia, the foreign secretary, Mr Kris Srinivasan, also held consultations with the Russian foreign ministry aimed at blunting the expected Pakistani diplomatic offensive to raise the Kashmir issue in the United Nations general assembly which convenes later this month.

The commerce minister, Mr Pranab Mukherjee is next in line when the Indo-Russian joint commission meets here in mid-September for a major review of trade and progress in bilateral co-operation on a number of fronts.

From the Russian side, efforts are underway to cap 1994 with the arrival in India of the Prime Minister, Mr Viktor Chernomyrdin. Before that, preparations are on for a visit by the Russian deputy defence minister, Mr Andrei Kokoshin, within the next two months and a parliamentary delegation is expected in New Delhi in November led by Mr Ivan Rybkin, speaker of the State Duma—the lower house of the Russian parliament.

At a press conference for Indian and Russian journalists, Mr Chavan described his meetings in Moscow as "most useful and productive."

"They reflected a mutual desire to consolidate the traditionally close, friendly and multi-faceted relationship between India and Russia taking into account the changed realities in both our countries and the international situation," he said.

Mr Chavan had brought with him a draft extradition treaty which his Russian counterpart, the interior minister, Mr Viktor Yerin, indicated would be concluded as soon as possible after putting in place the legal structure required to give it teeth in combating terrorists and drug traffickers.

The Indian home minister said if such an agreement is signed it will send a "proper message all over the neighbouring area" and invoked the salutary effect a similar pact with Great Britain has had in checking the activity of anti-Indian terrorists throughout Europe.

During Mr Yerin's visit to India last year, an agreement was signed to combat the threats posed by terrorism and separatism.

While here, Mr Chavan met an impressive array of top Russian officials apart from his counterpart Mr Yerin—diplomatic observers who were puzzled by the failure of the Russian defence minister, Mr Pavel Grachev, and the first deputy prime minister, Mr Oleg Soskovets, to show up for their scheduled meetings with Mr Rao in July.

Mr Chavan's meeting, included the Prime Minister, Mr Chernomyrdin, the foreign minister, Mr Andrei Kozyrev, the minister of nationalities affairs and regional policy, Mr N.D. Egorov, chief of Russia's Counter Intelligence Services, Mr Sergei Stepashin and Gen. A.I. Nikolayev, commander-in-chief of the Russian Border Guards whose detachments are deployed on the borders of the ex-Soviet republic of Tajikistan with Afghanistan.

According to Mr Chavan, "My present visit was meant to give concrete shape to the implementation of these agreements between our two countries. I am happy to say

that during the course of my discussions, significant progress has been achieved in this direction."

In separate developments during the week, the likelihood emerged of Indian involvement in peacekeeping efforts in the former Soviet Union with the possible stationing of its observers in the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict which has been mediated by Russia.

The foreign secretary, Mr Srinivasan, confirmed to correspondents in Moscow that the issue had been raised during foreign ministry consultations held here and indicated that further talks at the U.N. headquarters in New York would determine the nature of Indian involvement.

Mr Srinivasan's talks focused on the forthcoming U.N. general assembly and he observed, "As is customary, we found a great deal of common ground between us and the Russian side. We look forward to working very closely with the Russian delegation at the general assembly."

The possibility of Pakistan moving a general assembly resolution on Kashmir—which is a routine diplomatic crusade for Islamabad—featured during the talks.

Mr Srinivasan said, "We are not engaged in any campaign on the Kashmir issue. We are only trying to explain the real situation and by doing so look for understanding. In this connection, I am fully satisfied with my discussions here."

At the same time, New Delhi also appeared to have won Moscow's acknowledgment of its candidacy for permanent membership of the U.N. security council. A special working group of the U.N. general assembly was constituted last year to propose modalities for the expansion of the exclusive and powerful body which still reflects the post-Second World War power equation. India, Germany and Japan are among other large African and Latin American nations which say the security council must reflect current global realities.

Population Growth Policy Draft Released, Discussed

95AS0009A Madras *THE HINDU* in English
6 Sep 94 p 17

[Article by S. Ramasundaram, Additional Secretary, Health and Family Welfare Department, Government of Tamil Nadu: "A Positive Approach To Population Control"; quotation marks as published]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] India's population, which was counted as 361 millions (36.1 crores) by the 1951 Census, more than doubled over the next 40 years and reached 846 millions (84.6 crores) by the time the most recent census in 1991 was taken. The latest World Bank projections predict that India's population would be over one billion (100 crores) by the year 2000 and would reach a staggering 1.888 billion (188.8 crores), when its

population, even more than China's, would stabilise (sometime in the second half of the next century).

The need to curb the rate of population growth in India and other countries is not based on the old Malthusian argument of population growth overtaking food production; it is not even based on the neo-Malthusian argument of economic growth being slowed down by rapid population growth—because these two arguments have not turned out to be true over the past two centuries. However, the control of population growth is essential for a higher standard of living for the present and future.

This year is special for discussing the population policy for India: the M.S. Swaminathan Committee, appointed by the Government of India, has submitted its draft report on the population policy and it is being discussed across the country. A disagreement between some members of this committee on certain issues has led to a debate in major newspapers. Over the past two decades, India has had two population policy statements: the Population Policy of 1976 and the National Health Policy of 1983. The 1976 Policy was well-meaning overall but the recommendation on compulsory sterilisation, resulting in coercive sterilisations in some north Indian States, vitiated it.

The 1983 statement, with 'Health for All' as the overall goal, had set several demographic and health goals to be attained by the year 2000. A crude death rate of 9 per 1000, an infant mortality rate of under 60 per 1000 live births and a crude birth rate of 21 per 1000, leading to a net reproduction rate (NRR) of one were the major goals.

Simply put, the NRR of one means that every mother will be replaced by one daughter. This also roughly corresponds to a total fertility rate (TFR; the average number of children a woman will have in her lifetime at current fertility levels for the different age-groups) of 2.1. This 'replacement level' fertility eventually leads to population stabilisation, a situation in which population growth is zero or very small. Within India, fertility levels in Kerala are slightly below replacement level, while it is very close to that in Tamil Nadu. But fertility levels in most of the populous northern States are still very high. The Swaminathan Committee has recommended a TFR goal of 2.1 for the whole country by 2010, ten years later than the target date set by the 1983 Policy. Its overall "pro-nature, pro-poor, pro-woman" approach is a big change from past and current thinking on the subject. Its emphasis on restoring the declining sex ratio is also a welcome recommendation.

Tamil Nadu's Programme

The Dr. J. Jayalalitha 15 Point Programme for Child Welfare, announced by the Tamil Nadu Chief Minister in November 1993, also lays great emphasis on the welfare and health of women and children, especially girls. Among the various goals set in this document are an infant mortality rate of 30 live births (currently it is

about 57) and a crude birth rate of 15 per 10 population (currently it is about 20.7) by the year 2000 for Tamil Nadu. More importantly, this document has set the objective of 'restoring' the declining sex ratio, which is adverse to women. (In all developed countries, women outnumber men; in India only Kerala has this feature). The Swaminathan Committee has also fully supported this document.

The State Family Planning Council of Tamil Nadu, chaired by the Chief Minister, adopted the same goals for 2000, but it also went a step further and set long-term demographic goals for Tamil Nadu to be reached by 2010. These are: an infant mortality rate of 20 and a crude birth rate of 10. The policy also hopes that, at this low level of fertility, the birth and death rates will be about equal, resulting in zero population growth. The population of Tamil Nadu is then expected to stabilise by 2010 at a level of about 65 millions (6.5 crores), compared to the 1991 Census population of 56 millions (5.6 crores).

In addition to the above goals in respect of fertility and sex ratio, it would seem desirable to set goals for life expectancy and full registration of births and deaths.

All said and done, the ultimate questions, namely the size of India's stable population and the year in which it will stabilise, are still difficult to answer. There are different projections about these. Due to the enormous proportion of people in the younger age-groups, India's population will continue to grow rapidly for another three decades, even if fertility levels continue their declining trend. The only safe prediction one can make is that India's population will have crossed one billion (100 crores) by the next census in 2001.

Various approaches have been adopted by developing nations to achieve population control. Experience over the past 40 years has indicated that an approach based solely on adoption of contraception by couples is probably not the best. The other approach is the maternal and child health or MCH approach. This involves continuous contacts between a woman and the health care system during the different stages of the reproductive cycle. It starts with counselling about postponing marriage until about 21 years of age, followed by complete ante-natal care, institutional delivery (rather than home delivery), post-natal care, immunisation and growth monitoring of the child and birth spacing. This system establishes a good rapport between the health worker and the mother. The MCH package was adopted in the World Bank-funded India Population Project-V (IPP-V) in Madras city and suburbs since 1989. The results from this project provide empirical support to the relevance of the MCH approach to population control efforts.

In terms of perceptions of both the acceptor and the health worker, the MCH approach is a package of services with a positive message: how to have the desired number of healthy children at the desired periods, while safeguarding the mother's health. On the other hand, the

contraception approach has a single "negative" message to the acceptor: how NOT to have a baby. Even in the minds of the worker, this approach only has a negative connotation: how to achieve the sterilisation target fixed by the superiors.

The Dr. J. Jayalalitha 15 Point Programme for Child Welfare lays great emphasis on the MCH approach. The Child Survival and Safe Motherhood programme (CSSM), sponsored by the Central Government (with funding from the World Bank and UNICEF, also talks about the same approach. In terms of sustainability in the long run and acceptability to the people, the MCH (approach) is far superior to the purely contraceptive approach. The Government of Tamil Nadu has already initiated steps to change over to the MCH approach through a series of logical steps. To begin with, even under the current contraceptive approach, targets for staff from departments other than Health and Family Welfare have been abolished. This means that, in Tamil Nadu, only health professionals are providing health care services, including contraception, in the field. This step also eliminated the unhealthy competition between the Health staff and those from departments like Revenue and Rural Development in getting family planning acceptors. At the same time, Tamil Nadu did not fall short of the target fixed by the Government of India.

As a next step, the odious "motivator's certificate," a source of corruption and over-reporting, has been withdrawn. Since only the health staff are now given the family planning targets, their achievement is monitored based on their assigned geographical areas. The next step, yet to be taken, is to change over to the MCH approach in all parts of Tamil Nadu (it is now being followed in Madras city and the suburbs). The role of the Village Health Nurses will be even more crucial under the MCH approach.

Reportage on Rao Visit to Vietnam

5 Sep Banquet, Talks

95AS0008A Madras THE HINDU in English
6 Sep 94 p. 1

[Article by Sridhar Krishnaswami: "Rao Sees Scope for More Trade Ties With Vietnam"]

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Hanoi, Sept. 5. The reforms effected by India and Vietnam provide opportunities for enhanced bilateral cooperation, particularly in the private sector, and both sides should take advantage of the new economic environment, the Prime Minister, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao, said here tonight.

Delivering an address at the banquet hosted in his honour by the Vietnam Premier, Mr. Vo Van Kiet, Mr. Rao said India was fully ready to be a partner in

Vietnam's development. "We hope to see major bilateral projects which will serve the interests of both and give an economic content to our relations commensurate with our traditionally close and friendly ties," Mr. Rao said.

Peace and stability were essential for economic development, Mr. Rao said and welcomed the initiatives taken by Vietnam for creating a climate of trust and understanding with nations in the region. India believed that closer interaction and links between the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and Vietnam were an important component for peace and stability in South-East Asia, Mr. Rao said. He welcomed Vietnam's impending inclusion in the ASEAN.

"We are determined to continue our efforts to promote good neighbourly relations and to expand the process of cooperation in South Asia with an objective of making it an area of peace, friendship and cooperation," Mr. Rao said.

Being fellow nations of Asia, Mr. Rao said, Vietnam and India were conscious of the emerging status of Asia in the world. This new dynamic Asia—"the most vigorously advancing portion of the planet"—could draw upon centuries-old traditions of peace, amity, tolerance and harmony and provide a stabilising influence in international affairs, Mr. Rao said.

It would be India's privilege to extend its partnership with Vietnam into the 21st century on a path of peace and prosperity. "We have stood by each other in the past, and we will remain partners in the future as well," Mr. Rao said.

Mr. Kiet said changes in India and in the region have had a profound impact on bilateral economic ties to the benefit of both. Vietnam looked forward to further expanding the bilateral economic and trade interaction. The Government of Vietnam, Mr. Kiet said, encouraged the active participation of investors and businessmen. "This is the best way for us to meet together the goals of development in each country, and at the same time consolidate our traditional bonds in the new era."

On Role in U.N.

Vietnam, Mr. Kiet said, was confident that the current process of reforms in India—with a strong support from the people and broad approval among political forces in the country—would enable India to soon become one of the most dynamic economies of the Asia-Pacific. Mr. Kiet expressed full support for India bringing into "full play" its important role of striving for a world of peace, friendship and cooperation, expanding its activities and enhancing its role in the United Nations. "Vietnam welcomes and highly appreciates India's effects of participating in the activities of the community of the nations in the Asia-Pacific region and the world as a whole."

Mr. Rao's visit, Mr. Kiet said, would drive a new and fresh vitality to the closer and more effective cooperation and said this process should be concrete with a time-bound plan of action.

At a meeting with Mr. Kiet before the banquet, Mr. Rao called upon experts of the two countries to look at the potential areas of bilateral cooperation and said this process should be concrete with a time-bound plan of action.

The meeting of the two Prime Ministers was originally set for tomorrow morning, to be followed by a delegation-level session. The one-on-one session was advanced to this evening.

There was general agreement that bilateral ties should be expanded as their full potential had not been realised. Both Mr. Rao and Mr. Kiet were of the view that since both countries were following similar policies, there would have to be a quantum jump in cooperation. Mr. Kiet, reportedly expressed appreciation for what India had done in past by way of various types of assistance.

Mr. Kiet also listed the priorities in the country's development—the two major ones being infrastructure that would include roads, railways, airports and ports, and agriculture especially agro-processing. The other areas mentioned were forestry and marine products.

Earlier, from the airport, Mr. Rao drove to the Presidential Palace where he was received by Vietnam's Prime Minister, Mr. Vo Van Kiet. The welcome ceremonies included playing of the national anthems of the two countries following which Mr. Rao inspected an inter-service guard of honour.

The warmth in bilateral relations was reflected in the brief remarks made by the two leaders at the Presidential Palace prior to a formal toast.

Mr. Kiet said Mr. Rao's visit was coming at a time when vast changes were taking place in the world providing great opportunities for strengthening bilateral relations. The visit was also a great encouragement to the people of his country, especially in the context of the process of economic renovation or *Doi Moi*.

Recalling that it was more than 12 years since he was in this country last, Mr. Rao said he noticed a lot of changes during the drive from the airport. Mr. Rao said that while he could relate to the green paddy fields, the highway had not been there the last time around.

"Vietnam, like India, is changing fast." Mr. Rao, however, added that while changes may be taking place, the close ties between India and Vietnam dating back to the days of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Ho Chi Minh were "everlasting." [passage omitted]

6 Sep Activities

95AS0008B Madras THE HINDU in English
7 Sep 94 p 1

[Article by Sridhar Krishnaswami: "India, Vietnam To Set Up Joint Working Group"]

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Hanoi, Sept. 6. India and Vietnam today agreed to establish a Joint Working Group to accelerate economic cooperation. It will meet within a month. This was decided at a delegation level meeting here which was chaired by the two Prime Ministers, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao and Mr. Vovan Kiet.

The first session of the group would include the Vice-Chairman and Head of Division from Vietnam and the Secretary in the Ministry of External Affairs and the Head of Division from India. The group is expected to recommend the setting up of four sub-groups: on agriculture, animal husbandry and fisheries, on light industries, on heavy industries including transportation, and on science and technology.

The pace with which the two sides have proceeded in the followup to this morning's decision to form the group reflect the seriousness with which India and Vietnam wish to give concrete shape to future economic cooperation. The point that is being made is that the formation of the Joint Working Group should not be viewed as an instance of proliferation of existing mechanisms of consultations. Rather it has to be viewed in terms of the flexibility such an arrangement will bring to the process of the widening of economic contacts.

That the emphasis was on the economic front was evident from the manner the two leaders and delegations addressed issues. Mr. Kiet wanted more exchanges at the business and private sector levels. He told the Indian business delegation that he expected a lot from it.

The Chairman of the Indian Business Delegation, Mr. R.P. Goenka, believes Indian investment in the country would be to the tune of some \$500 millions in the next five years. Terming the outcome of the mission to Vietnam as positive, Mr. Goenka noted that while a few joint ventures have been signed today—the ones that have been initiated in the recent past—there were more to come in the near future. Today as many as nine agreements on joint ventures were signed here, with the expectation that between 8 and 12 more would come about in the next six months.

The Indian businessmen pointed out some of the hurdles faced in Vietnam—for instance visa and procedural problems. Mr. Kiet said the focal contact points for the Indian business houses would have to be the State Commission for Cooperation in Investment and the Vietnam Chamber of Commerce and Industry and the Departments concerned.

Political issues were not ignored. Both at the official delegation level meeting and during Mr. Rao's call on the general secretary of the Communist Party, Mr. Do Muoi, there was an exchange of views on global regional and bilateral matters.

One of the issues addressed by Mr. Kiet was Vietnam's foreign policy with respect to South-East Asia and the Asia Pacific; and the new level of relations reached with the Association of South-East Asian Nations. The emphasis was that in the face of Hanoi's changing foreign relations it would continue to strengthen ties with traditional friends.

At a meeting with Indian journalists, the Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr. Le Mai, said Vietnam's impending membership in the ASEAN was not meant to be seen as taking sides to confront others. Rather, it was within the overall policy of diversification of foreign relations.

Mr. Rao said that while there were positive changes in the international system new problems, such as terrorism, had cropped up. He expressed confidence that both India and Vietnam would stand together in meeting the challenges.

The United Nations should be democratised and India would continue its role in the world body through such missions as peace-keeping operations, Mr. Rao said. He briefed the Vietnam leadership on the situation in South Asia. Hanoi was told that while New Delhi was ready for a dialogue with Pakistan, the latter has not responded positively.

Mr. Kiet said his country would support India in its activities which would include enhancing its role at the U.N.

Mr. Do Muoi told Mr. Rao that Vietnam would support India's claim for a permanent membership of the U.N. Security Council. Mr. Do Muoi is said to have told Mr. Rao that he had made this announcement at the time of his visit to India in 1991 itself.

At the official delegation-level meeting, Mr. Kiet referred to specific areas of cooperation: agriculture (including food and agro-processing), sugar, small dairy farms, rubber industry (that would include tyres and tubes), small and medium enterprises, gas-based industries and mining. [passage omitted]

Agreements Signed

95AS0008C Hyderabad DECCAN CHRONICLE
in English 8 Sep 94 pp 1, 9

[Article by S. Viswam: "India, Vietnam Sign 4 Pacts"—quotation marks as published]

[FBIS Transcribed Text]) Hanoi, Sept. 7: The Prime Minister's three-day 'friendly official' visit to Vietnam, the first to be undertaken after Mr Narasimha Rao

assumed office as Prime Minister has been an unqualified success not only because it has triggered the possibilities of enhanced mutual cooperation but also because it has initiated measures for each country aiding the other's economic reform process.

There has been a qualitative difference in the relations between India and Vietnam on the one hand and those between India and the other countries of the South-East Asian region in the sense that with the other countries India has had varying degrees of ongoing economic, cooperation. In the case of Vietnam, however, though political relations have been impressively good, economic cooperation hardly existed. Mr Narasimha Rao's visit has served to remedy this inadequacy, and the Prime Minister left Hanoi this morning reassured that India-Vietnam, economic relations will soon get a 'kick start.'

During his discussions with the Vietnamese leaders, the Prime Minister found a ready response to his suggestion that the two countries ought to examine seriously the possibilities of giving a substantial economic content to the bilateral relations taking advantage of the fact that political relations between them are marked by the highest degree of mutual understanding and respect.

A joint press statement issued at the end of Mr Rao's visit gave expression to this sentiment. It noted that multi-faceted cooperation between the two countries can contribute to the successful implementation of the cause of renovation and reforms in each country.

The thrust of the four agreements signed by the two sides shortly before his departure for Singapore also corresponds to the Prime Minister's thesis that the economic environment in India and Vietnam provide a good basis for taking economic cooperation to higher levels.

The four agreements related to (a) avoidance of double taxation, (b) travel facilities for citizens of the two countries, (c) more frequent consultations between the foreign offices of India and Vietnam, and (d) cooperation in the defence field.

The two Indian Ministers of State, Mr R.L. Bhatia and Mr Bhuvanesh Chaturvedi, who accompanied the Prime Minister to Vietnam, initialled the agreements. Mr Narasimha Rao and Mr Vo Van Kiet witnessed the signing ceremony.

The protocol on cooperation in the defence field is considered a significant step forward in the already close Indo-Vietnamese ties. Both sides, however, have clarified that it was not aimed against any third country.

According to Indian officials, it would principally enable supply of defence equipment by India to Vietnam, especially for the items acquired by both countries from the former Soviet Union. These would include spare parts for Soviet aircraft like the ones of MiG series. India has over the years, acquired considerable capacity in this area.

The protocol on cooperation also provides Indian training facilities for the Vietnamese defence personnel. The two countries had built up close relations in political, economic and cultural fields. But so far their defence relationship had been non-existent or minimal.

The agreement on travel facilities essentially is for making the grant of Vietnamese visas for Indian businessmen travelling to Vietnam to explore possibilities of investment and collaboration easier and more sure. Currently, it sometimes takes months for a business or tourist visa to come through. In this connection, the Vietnamese government is also examining a request from Indian businessmen for the introduction of a 'single window' concept in Vietnam so that bureaucratic delays in the firming up of investment projects are eliminated.

The joint statement also contained a paragraph which took note of the economic restructuring which India and Vietnam have undertaken and it lauded the success of the reform process achieved so far. It said: "The two sides expressed their satisfaction at the achievements scored by the Vietnamese and Indian peoples in all fields in the process of renovation in Vietnam and the comprehensive and far-reaching economic reforms in India."

Consistent with India's new foreign policy objective of moving closer to the ASEAN [Association of South-East Asian Nations] countries and to the South-East Asian region as a whole, the joint statement recorded India's welcome to the prospect of Vietnam becoming a full-fledged member of the ASEAN. This development, it said, should help consolidate and enhance peace, stability, cooperation in South-East Asia and the world over.

Whether on regional or international issues, the perceptions and perspectives of India and Vietnam converged and on most of the issues the views of the two countries were identical. Reflecting the excellent state of political relations, the joint statement recorded Vietnam's support for the "increasingly important role" played by India in the world. It highly valued India's foreign policy and its endeavours for further boosting ties with its neighbouring countries, creating an atmosphere of mutual understanding and intensifying cooperation in South Asia.

Mr Rao remarked that though only four agreements had been signed, cooperation was a continuous process and expressed hope that the two countries would have more agreements in various fields in the coming days.

The Prime Minister said that he was extremely 'satisfied' with his visit to Vietnam and extended an invitation to his counterpart, Mr Vo Van Kiet, to visit India.

The Vietnamese Prime Minister accepted Mr Rao's invitation and said whatever had been discussed during the Indian Prime Minister's visit was 'very satisfying' and he looked forward to visiting India. Mr Kiet presented to Mr Rao an album of photographs of his visit.

The Prime Minister wound up his visit to Hanoi on a happy note, spending more than an hour exchanging views with a group of Vietnamese 'intellectuals' on how best to stimulate greater interaction of the two countries on the social, cultural and literary fields. The group comprised actors and film personalities, writers, authors, dramatists and playwrights and academics. The need for translating books, facilitating more regular and frequent cultural exchanges, and "getting to know each other's programmes at the people to people level" was stressed during the discussions.

Congress(I) Seen Paralyzed Over Uttarkhand

Tiwari Versus Rao

95AS0018A Jaipur RAJASTHAN PATRIKA in Hindi
7 Sep 94 p 8

[Editorial: "The Government and the Uttarkhand Movement"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A fierce and violent movement for the formation of Uttarkhand as a separate state is shaping up fast. With this they are demanding to postpone the allocation of the reserved seats for the backward classes until the new state is formed. It is extremely important that the federal and state governments take immediate note of this movement. An untimely resolution of the problem could result in serious repercussions. The state legislative assembly has, in the past, twice passed a resolution to create a separate state of Uttarkhand by combining the hilly districts of Uttar Pradesh [U.P.]. Under such circumstances it is natural for the provocateurs to fly high. However, the methods of the provocateurs cannot be condoned. How far is it justified to become violent to achieve an end whose success is predetermined?

This question merits consideration. This movement has, on one hand, shaken the foundation of Mulayam Singh's government in Uttar Pradesh and on the other has caused concern to the central government, but in spite of all this the center does not appear to have taken it seriously. Indeed all factions should try to avert any bloodshed and should try to resolve the issue peacefully. The hilly regions have already sustained heavy losses and the area has lost its peacefulness. Even so, the Uttar Pradesh government considers it a law and order issue. In actuality it is not only a law and order issue but is obviously tied to the political, geographical and social demands of the people.

This issue has amply affected the national and state politics. In the recent past the rumors of the newly appointed President of the Congress (I) N. D. Tiwari's resignation was speculated upon. Since Tiwari comes from the hilly regions, it is not unusual for him to be concerned. It cannot be fully assumed that after his Delhi meeting with the Prime Minister Narshima Rao, these rumors have died down.

The reasons for his concern not only include the ongoing movement for a separate state of Uttarkhand but also the fact that Prime Minister Narasimha Rao has made certain significant appointments to the major organizations of the Congress (I) without his advice. Tiwari is one of the seasoned Congress (I) leaders and is fully familiar with the Congress (I)'s culture. During Sanjay Gandhi's time he was the chief minister of Uttar Pradesh. He has also observed the work ethics both of Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi. His appointment was also a result of the blessings of the High Command. How can then he assume that other important organizational appointments to the Congress (I) will not be made without his advice. It can, therefore, not be a major cause for his concern. The only major cause of his concerns can be the movement for the creation of a separate hilly state of Uttarkhand.

The present circumstances dictate that the state government should resolve this issue in consultation with all involved factions. Simply regarding it as a law and order issue will not settle anything. At the same time the central government will have to confide in the people of the hilly region that it has full sympathy with both their demand and the resolutions passed by the state legislature. The prime minister should issue an statement assuring the people that they will not have to wait long for the fulfillment of their demand. The Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, Mulayam Singh, has ordered the transfers of certain senior (administrative) officials. To curb the agitators, the police force in large numbers has also been deployed. Yet these tactics will not control the violence and the severity of the situation.

The demand of the people of Uttarkhand to postpone the enforcement of the regulation to reserve 27 percent of the seats for backward classes to serve in governmental positions and in educational institutions, is also valid because the population of backward classes in the hilly region is only 2 percent, and they fear, if the regulation is enforced the advantage will go to flatlanders. Therefore, the implementation of this requirement should be delayed until the creation of the new state. To decide the issue is the sole responsibility of the state government. Chief Minister Mulayam Singh should not make this an issue of self respect and should delay the implementation till the formation of the new state. The central government should also establish an schedule of events to form the new state. Meanwhile, the agitators should stick to non-violence, relinquish their violent attitude to make it possible to find a peaceful solution.

Confusion Predominant

95AS0018B Varanasi AJ in Hindi 7 Sep 94 p 6

[Article by R.C. Pandit: "Uttarkhand Movement: Confusion in the Congress Camp"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Soon after Narayan Dutt Tiwari assumed his position as the President of the state Congress (I), a strange sensation has swept the Congress

Camp at the center on the issue of Uttarkhand movement. A solution to this problem has been left to the wisdom of the Prime Minister Mr. P.V. Narsimha Rao as the head of the Congress Party (I). A definitive opinion was not available at the time of this writing. Because at the emergence of this issue, the prime minister assigned more importance to his trip to the South and continued it uninterrupted. On his return he has become busy with his Nov 5 foreign trips to Singapore and Vietnam. The silence maintained by the people close to the prime minister is also mysterious. But certain political parties with senior Congress Party leaders are pressuring the party chief Mr. Narsimha Rao to immediately renounce his support of the Mulayam Singh's government in Uttar Pradesh to save any residual influence that the Congress Party may have in the hilly region of Uttar Pradesh. In this context the leader of the hilly region of Uttar Pradesh Mr. Harish Rawat presented a memorandum to the prime minister on Friday. The memorandum is said to carry a warning from the members of the Uttar Pradesh Congress Party that in absence of a solid decision from the Party the state members may step outside of their boundaries and may be compelled to announce their support for this movement, in Delhi. Mr. Harish Rawat in making his personal position public says that at this time, although, he does not favor more emphasis on the formation of Uttarkhand, he would like to see the Center open talks with the state, to pay more attention to economic development, and require the state government to follow its directions. Chief Minister Mulayam Singh should also be made aware of the fact that the Congress (I) can pull its support back [causing the fall of the U.P. Government].

In an informal talk Mr. Rawat made it clear that he does not oppose creation of a separate hill state, but to solve the problem and to meet the demands of this movement, he says, why not declare the eight districts of Uttarkhand as an underdeveloped area similar to was done in the case of Ladakh to expedite its economic development. Mr. Rawat also indicates that the separate and individual statements issued by various Congress leaders and workers, and any action by the Congress High Command in the near future, may cause a state of confusion in the Party. Mr. Rawat has made these thoughts known to the counsels close to Mr. Rao. In addition, the former minister of defence, Mr. Krishan Chand Pant in his meeting with the prime minister enticed his attention to the state of affairs in the hilly region of Uttar Pradesh and appraised him of the promises made by former Congress leaders. He also drew his attention toward the manner Mulayam Singh's government is handling the situation. Mr. Pant commented as to what was the reason for a simple demonstration by students to transform into an unfortunate full blown incidence that required the use of force on students. It is surprising that the central government did not notify the Party High Command or the home ministry of the two week long ongoing demonstration in Delhi, specially

when the Delhi rally was subjected to a fierce baton charge and demands for removal of Mulayam Singh's government were rampant.

To caution the Party and the government, the Delhi Congress headquarters are picketed for the past several days. According to the coordinator of the Uttarkhand State Front, who has in the past served as an high official with the Delhi administration, the announcement of a separate state of Uttarkhand will cause no harm to the central policy. On the contrary, a Presidential promulgation delaying the enforcement of the 27 percent reserved seats rule will send a clear message to the students that their interests are protected which could change the direction of this movement.

The Bharatiya Janata Party [BJP] is said to have lent its support to the Congress (I) in their call to withdraw patronage of the Mulayam government in Uttar Pradesh. The BJP continues to allege that the use of oppressive measures against the Uttarkhand agitators by the Mulayam Singh government was politically motivated. This simple conspiracy is still beyond the apprehension of the Congress (I).

It is said that the tyranny of the state administration has resulted in almost two dozen deaths. The condition has deteriorated to an extent that the Congress Member of Parliament from the Khatima constituency of Nainital district Mr. Yashpal Arya has tendered his resignation. What does the future hold for the Congress if this trend continues?

The General Secretary of the Samajwadi Party [SP], Mr. Raghu Thakur, has said that the Central government should, by accepting the resolution passed by the Uttar Pradesh legislature, announce the formation of a separate state of Uttarkhand.

The Indian Communist Party and other leftist parties have in their respective opinions said that the two issues: one of creating a new state, and the second of the reserved seats should be addressed separately. The resolution of these issues should come subsequent to the expression of ideas by the leaders of all parties. In support of this idea the senior leaders of the Janata Dal have demanded an immediate convention of the National Unity Council. But Sharad Yadav appears to be concerned with the issue of reserved seats alone. In addition to warning the government to develop a sweeping policy on the issue of reservation of seats, which he considers as the root cause of all problems, he plans to do no more. The Minister of Home Affairs Mr. Shankar Rao Chavan's comments made during formal and informal talks with the Uttarkhand Students Resistance and Journalists Association, are seriously researched by the home ministry in their effort to present an expected expeditious report to the prime minister. But on the capital's political scene, due to the parliamentary recess, much could not be ascertained from the leaders of these factions who are busy with their itineraries out of Delhi, about their views on Uttarkhand

movement. However, it is recognized that the resolution approved by the Uttar Pradesh legislature requested the Central government to obtain the parliamentary sanction for the formation of a separate state by combining the eight districts in Kumaun and Garwal regions.

An apparently similar resolution was passed in 1992, and during the elections Mulayam Singh had included this demand in his election manifesto. It is therefore, difficult to apprehend now as to what hinders the presentation of this well accepted resolution to the parliament. This problem is also not seemingly ignored at the higher levels of the Central government because the political and administrative wings consider that the recommendations contained in the report issued by the 1956 State Reorganization Commission were based on the principle of languages (spoken in the area). Any geographic and historic perspectives were not considered which are now becoming more compelling than the administrative and economic factors. And this has only but one solution and that is, if possible, a consensus by the larger states can solve the problems of these (hilly) regions. Such direction also has the backing of the administration. The administration also finds it speculative to estimate the chances of success of any regional division during this administration, if solving the economic problems is the right resolution. Politically, the Federal approval of the resolution passed by the Uttar Pradesh Assembly, will set an example for other states to press for their demands. This is the million dollar question that seriously worries the prime minister, the home minister and the entire administration, and no solution appears to be in sight.

The concern shown in political circles and in the Congress (I) camp on the current commentary published in the newspapers on Narayan Dutt Tiwari is generally sympathetic to Tiwari. It is said that the saying "His fortune overtook him at the very outset" fits him well. He was just getting ready for Lucknow when he earned Delhi's displeasure. Perhaps this was a pre-planned air attack on him but the sources close to the Congress High Command maintain that they do not sense display of any annoyance from Tiwari. All this indicates that under no circumstances Narshim Rao as the party president and prime minister would want to lose Narayan Dutt Tiwari. Mr. Tiwari will be present here during Rao's departure on his foreign trip but it is unlikely that this issue will emerge. It is because both leaders are seasoned politicians and both believe in silence. And that is why Tiwari willingly accepted Delhi's displeasure and hid it under his shining white cap and let the imagination of the newspapers run wild. The prime minister was kept informed about this development before his departure to the South, and to avoid the rivalry among Andhra Pradesh party leadership, he emphasized that any leniency shown by the High Command would not be an accessory in the accomplishment of their plans. Its result can deprive them of party nominations in the forthcoming elections.

Hurriyat Leaders Barred From Attending OIC Conclave

95AS0002A Madras THE HINDU in English
7 Sep 94 p 13

[Unattributed article: "Hurriyat Leaders Barred From Visiting Islamabad"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] New Delhi, Sept. 6. Leaders of the All-Party Hurriyat Conference (APHC) have been denied permission to visit Islamabad for a meeting of foreign ministers belonging to the Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC).

Sources today said Pir Hafizullah Makhdoomi and Mr. G.N. Shaheen, Hurriyat representatives, were told by officials of the Union Home and Foreign Ministries here that a visit to Islamabad was not possible.

Though there was no outright refusal, the officials are believed to have said such a request could not be decided upon within a day. The OIC meeting, spread over two days, begins tomorrow.

An official spokesman said it was "not clear in what capacity the Hurriyat leaders have been invited to exchange views at the OIC meeting."

"India is not a member of the OIC and we do not see why the OIC Secretary-General (Dr. Hamid Algabid) should invite Indian citizens to participate in OIC's conclaves," the spokesman said.

"We are not surprised that the invitation should be publicly announced first by a Pakistani spokesman. We regret that the OIC is being misled to persist with its previous pattern of interference in our internal affairs."

The invitation from the OIC Secretary-General to the Hurriyat leaders said: "I have the honour to inform you that the seventh extraordinary session of the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers, which is being held in Islamabad on September 7-9, 1994 will *inter alia* consider the issue of Jammu & Kashmir."

"I shall be in Islamabad to attend this conference. After consultations with the host country, I would like to invite you to send a delegation of the All-Parties Hurriyat Conference to Islamabad so as to enable us to exchange views on the Kashmir issue," Mr. Algabid's letter said.

"I am requesting this meeting in the context of the mandate entrusted to me by Resolution 9/21-P of the 21st Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers, which *inter alia* requested me to establish contact with the true representatives of the Kashmiri people," Dr. Algabid added.

Clearly, the OIC does not think that the Government of India is the "true representatives" of the Kashmiri people. As a consequence of this "opinion," the OIC launched a search for the "true representatives." And it is in this context, that Mr. Algabid has sought a meeting with leaders of the Hurriyat Conference.

Dated September 3, invitation letters have been sent out to both Mirwaiz Maulvi Farooq and Prof. Abdul Ghani Bhat, chairman and spokesman of the APHC.

According to sources, the time available to the Government to take a decision on a possible Islamabad visit was too short. Apart from Maulvi Farooq, Prof. Bhat, Maulvi Abbas Ansari, and Justice (retd) Bahauddin Farooqi, Mr. Mohammed Yaseen Malik, president of the Jammu & Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF), was part of the "Hurriyat delegation."

In a statement here, the APHC expressed concern about the Government's decision to deny them the right to visit Islamabad for the OIC meeting. Thanking the OIC and Dr. Algabid for recognising them as genuine representatives of the Kashmiri people, the APHC said it hoped that the Conference's "support" would continue.

The Hurriyat representatives also appealed to the UN Secretary-General, Dr. Boutros Boutros Ghali, who is scheduled to visit Pakistan and India, to get the Government to stop "excesses" on the people of Jammu and Kashmir.

According to the representatives, they would try to meet Dr. Ghali during his visit to India beginning on September 8.

Foreign Investment in Newspapers Feared, Praised

National Security Threat

94AS0499A Jaipur RAJASTHAN PATRIKA in Hindi
8 Sep 94 p 10

[Article by K.P.Shri Vastav: "Dangers of Foreign Capital Entering the Communications Field."]

[FBIS Translated Text] Should we allow foreign capital to invest in (India's) communication media or not? This question is a matter of some sharp debate these days. The Same question is being asked in the parliament as well but until now, the government has not indicated which direction it might take. A cabinet committee formed under Mr. N. Salve has recommended that foreign publishing houses be allowed to run newspapers in India under certain conditions. One such condition is that the foreign publishing house cannot own more than 49 percent shares in these new companies.

In an informal conversation with the press reporters, Mr. Chandulal Chandrakar, the spokesman for the ruling party suggested that according to Congress Party officials, now is not the time for allowing foreign ownership in the newspaper industry. In support of his stand he said that almost all the parties in the Indian Parliament think that foreign capital should not be allowed in this field. Not only that but answering another question, he also said that the ruling party members know how to reverse

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the decision if it is decided to implement the Salve report. (favoring permission to allow foreign newsmedia to operate in India.)

Two days later he told the press reporters that now his party is in favor of foreign capital in the newspaper business. This was because he thought it would have no adverse effect upon the country. This turnaround stunned the reporters, who showered him with questions. Answering these questions, he told them that the Congress Parliamentary Party and its six subcommittees have given the matter some thought. They have authorized him to say that the foreign capital should come in slowly. He could not tell if this policy is for the English language press only or it is for regional language papers also. Giving a written clarification, he said that he would not like to comment without knowing all the details of the matter. All he can say right now is that the Salve Committee has submitted its report and the government is giving it some consideration.

Opinions in The Congress Party

Opinions in the Congress Party can be subject to argument. What is surprising is that within forty-eight hours what could have happened that Mr. Chandrakar had to change his stand so much? Who and what kind of pressure was brought to bear upon the party? Was it the foreign lobby? Before he joined active politics, Mr. Chandrakar used to be a reporter himself and he has held many important posts. He is familiar with the world of newspapers. Generally, pronouncements of the party spokesmen are considered to be the official position of the party. However, anything is possible in politics. According to reliable sources, the party spokesman had not consulted the prime minister before giving the above statement.

One thing is clear; the party spokesperson is not taken into confidence even in important matters. Mr. Vitthal Gadgil (Another party spokesman) has already told us that he does not coordinate with anyone in the government or within the party. [He claims that] he does it (press briefing) on his own. No one knows how true this is.

No decision has been taken as far as the policy is concerned. But it seems, under the name of economic liberalization, the government is intent upon opening the door for foreign capital in the ownership of newspapers. The newspapers will be in the same category as Coke, toothpaste and toiletries. Just think, what will happen if under the new policy, a capitalist from Pakistan or some Islamic countries takes over some Indian newspapers, what will be the effect? Which policies and cultural values will be given preference? Will they not affect the political, social, economic, education and other connected policies? Right now we already have the example of foreign channels invading our skies. Everyone knows which way the new generation is going. How much our atmosphere is full of crime, violence and sex. Overnight, the western media has created celebrities out of Lorena Babbitt and her husband. How many such incidences

have occurred! It is hard to tell if the reach of newspapers is more or less than [that of] television. This can be a contentious issue. However, there is no doubt that the newspapers have greater effect than television on educated and uneducated masses. Newspapers are read in villages, counties, in the Panchayats (village councils), even in village square they are read and heard collectively. Both educated and uneducated people listen to the reading of newspapers in the village. Every day, there is discussion about the happenings in the county and about the articles in the paper.

The Role of Television

In today's world, television has its own place. It will have to look to the country, its culture, education etc (For programming content). Introduction of new, foreign channels has forced the Indian television industry to change its programming overnight. Only time will tell if it can improve or not. The biggest concern is for believability. Where do we get the conviction when government itself is responsible for destroying the believability. Only the other day one highly placed source in Doordarshan (the Indian Television network) told us that three camera teams out of seven are always kept ready for the coverage of the prime minister and two are kept ready for other ministers and their staff. How much can the rest cover? The result is that television has become a propaganda tool for the government. Even Rajiv Gandhi had to tune his transistor to BBC (British Broadcasting Corp.) to confirm the news about Indira Gandhi's assassination. I myself have a very painful experience of this. In 1980-1982 Assam was full of ethnic disturbances. I was transferred to Assam and I stayed there for quite some time. Wherever I went, within Assam or in the neighboring states, I found that people listened to BBC. Even villagers considered only BBC reliable. I don't want to talk about the newspapers in those days, because the government had imposed a censorship on the newspapers. Somehow the believability of the press agencies was not affected. The news given by them was being printed around the country. People of Assam believed only news given by the press agencies or when they listened to BBC newsreaders.

There are at least two opinions about foreign capital or ownership among those who work for the newspapers. Some believe that there will be greater facilities and better salaries under foreign ownership. There will be some who will get jobs in a foreign country. For that they may have to change their style of reporting. In other words, they will be subject to intellectual slavery. How bad this will be for the country? One can only guess. Yes, one can imagine that the dismal low standard of newspapers that we see today, will improve due to the competition. But what guarantee is there that the foreign capital newspapers will always keep up their standard? They will not come down? Do all newspapers in England and America uniformly keep up their high standards? If that is true then why do some of them close down?

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have a special issue to make up for the increased costs with extra advertisement. This is all right for the large newspapers but what will happen to the small papers? Will the foreign owned newspapers remain free of this rat race? will it not affect their editorial content? Even if we accept that these fears are groundless, what will happen to the profits? If the capital is foreign owned, no doubt the profit will also go out of the country. The trade unions should also give some thought to this matter.

Next question to think about is that of freedom of thought and expression that is guaranteed by the Constitution. It is guaranteed for the Indian citizens but is it right for foreigners too? Is that just? I remember, that during the emergency, the government had started the process for consolidation of four news agencies into one. Censorship was applied. (to all news.) This consolidated agency was named "News". The chairman and chief editor of this new organization was a person who was known for his ability to negotiate and satisfy those in positions of power. Two groups were formed of those who worked for the "News". One supporting and another against the consolidation. The group supporting the consolidation was of the opinion that under the new management the salaries and perks will be better. Better pensions also. They did not want to think about the other result of the change. In spite of higher salaries, they will be government employees and not independent news reporters. After this, what will happen to the freedom of the press? They used to reply "What does it matter to us? What difference does it make for us? let those people, who are concerned, (with the freedom of the press) fight for it." These days I hear similar comments again.

After (Indian) independence, Sardar (Vallabh bhai) Patel had taken the decision that foreign news agencies would not be allowed to operate in India. Foreign news will also get to Indian newspapers through Indian news agencies. Press trust of India [PTI] was born after that and the Reuters office here was closed down. Few years back again there was talk about the foreign news getting to Indian newspapers without obstruction but nothing came of it. Even at that time there were heated arguments concerning this matter.

Another matter came up next in the 1975 emergency. The newspaper owners were trying to remain in contact with those in power. There was censorship already. Only government announcements and pronouncements of the government ministers were being printed. Mrs. Indira Gandhi had stopped giving interviews to Indian newsmen. Only foreign newsmen were able to get her time. However copies of the interviews, somehow, did get to national papers and the governments' partisan view point was printed. Editorial comments in the large national papers were about foreign affairs or about subjects like the advantages of vegetarian eating etc.

invest capital in indian newspapers and to give them ownership rights. This step is not right. In no other democratic country is this so because that means the foreigners will have a say in the running of the Indian democracy. The question of National Defense is also connected with it.

Acting on the recommendations of the press commission, the Jawaharlal Nehru government, had decided, in 1955 that no foreign magazine or newspaper that is concerned with news or contemporary matters would be allowed to be printed in India. Also banned were the Indian editions of foreign magazines. The only exception was THE STATESMAN. I have already talked about the law concerning the press agencies in 1956. In the name of liberalization, some foreign newspapers forwarded applications to register their names as trade marks. The matter was referred to the press commission. The press commission was against it, although some members (of the commission) believed that they could be registered with some conditions. The government has not taken any decision contrary to the 1955-56 policy till now. However due to the attraction of foreign things, personal selfishness and people like Lord (Rupert) Murdoch and Lord Thompson who are set against any protection, policy can change things around at any time. Can our government stand up against people such as this and their agents? The press is called the 'fourth estate.' After the legislature, the judicial system and the executive branch, the press is supposed to be the watchdog for democracy. Its importance is in dealing with this responsibility in a proper way. This is also a national challenge.

Competition Good

94ASO499B Jalandhar PUNJAB KESARI in Hindi
10 Sep 94 p 4

[Article by Sunil Sethi: "If Foreign Newspapers Enter India: What will Happen"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The debate about allowing foreign newspapers to set up their offices in India has become so serious and so full of controversy that even the chairman of the Press Commission, Mr. Justice R. S. Sarkaria, thinks that he should not only have the right to give his opinion regarding this matter, but also have the right to accept or reject the recommendation.

It is being said that Mr. Justice Sarkaria told the government last week that under the Press Council Act of 1978 the government is bound to consult with him before it makes any decision. This is because traditionally, the Press Commission must be consulted whenever important matters concerning the press are decided.

Actually this controversy has developed very recently because there is a chance that the decision taken by the cabinet not to allow foreign capital in the Indian press may be reversed. The decision that was taken under

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media to come into India. Currently there is much speculation being made about the reasons for the Prime Minister's statement.

This is a very confusing situation for the Congress Party spokesmen Chandulal Chandrakar and B.N. Gadgil. For months they have been saying that neither the party nor the government is thinking of letting the foreign media enter the Indian market. However, no sooner had the prime minister announced his views than Mr. Chandrakar had to retract his words. In a brave attempt to remove the confusion, as an explanation for his earlier opposition as a party spokesman, he said that the prime minister had not briefed them.

Those who have been against foreign newspapers and other media opening offices in this country, are still puzzled and surprised. It is only natural that Indian newspaper groups, who have not tried to enter into collaboration with anyone outside the country and who are in no position to compete against foreign papers, would feel that with the arrival of foreign newspapers and their new technology and better expertise, they (Indian newspapers) will be forced to compete with a very powerful adversary and they will lose the protection that they have enjoyed till now. In fact, the Indian newspaper group is as much against the idea of competing with the foreign competition as the other industrial group collectively known as the 'Bombay club' was against the entry of any foreign counterparts.

Industries in the 'Bombay club' are very worried about the entry of the multinationals in the Indian market and they are asking for the same privileges as the foreign companies. It is understandable that the Indian politicians who have called themselves 'socialist' since 1950, would be afraid that any new change can bring to an end their cozy relationship with the Indian newspaper industry. Members of a modern, competitive and revitalized media will keep a keen eye on their activities and all their actions will be subject to close scrutiny. These politicians are the ones who call the entry of foreign newspapers "anti-national," "anti-democracy" and "culturally dangerous." Such politicians will oppose the entry of foreign newspapers on the grounds that they represent foreign imperialism. There is a substantial number of public opinion leaders who think that this is an imperialist conspiracy of the affluent nations to take over India.

It is surprising that many liberal newspaper editors and reporters are opposed to the idea of foreign press coming into India. An example of this is the stance taken by Mr. Kuldip Nayar of the editor's guild. It seems that he believes in the theory that foreign newspapers will ultimately take over Indian newspapers. He claims that "One day they will take over your newspapers and the next they will take over your political parties."

example it may happen that only Indians can legally control a joint venture company or allowed to be the editors of a joint venture newspaper. Mr. Nayar says the foreign companies can always buy Indian newspaper companies on an ad-hoc basis. They can easily do this with small regional newspapers. He also says that "I am completely opposed to the idea because it is like a woman being a little bit pregnant. Either you are or not. There is no in-between. Similarly there is no in-between when it comes to ownership of newspapers." Those critics who oppose the Indian newspapers and the Indian print media being taken over by foreign companies do not think that way about satellite TV. Star TV is already in India and Rupert Murdoch has made plans for Zee-TV.

All India Radio had always faced international competition and it continues to do so. It started its commercial service in response to the competition from Radio Ceylon. The Indian movie industry has always faced competition from Hollywood and it still exists. Many successful advertising agencies have reached an understanding with international advertising agencies. A similar arrangement can be worked out with satellite TV. The only question is whether or not it is important who owns and who is running the Indian newspapers as long as their standards are improving and they look better.

The editor of the BUSINESS STANDARD Mr. T.A. Nainan, who favors joint ventures between the international newspapers and their Indian counterparts, says that advent of Star TV and Zee-TV has not hurt Doordarshan (Indian TV network) at all. On the other hand Doordarshan itself is a major competitor. But Mr. Nayar and others think that there is a fundamental difference between radio and TV channels on one hand and the newspapers on the other. When you go into villages, you notice that the villagers attach importance to the matters covered by the newspapers. Nayar Says, "They tell you that they read it in the newspapers."

This is because in time of crisis the majority of the Indians do not believe the news given by government run radio and Doordarshan tv. They listen to BBC (British Broadcasting Corporation) or watch it on television. In this way, people do depend upon getting their news from newspapers. But to believe that partially or fully foreign owned newspapers can somehow affect the national interest adversely or can spread their depraved values through propaganda or can spoil our national image and somehow make the nation ripe for a foreign takeover are only idle thoughts of an idle mind. Such allegations question the ability of our press and lower the prestige of our newspaper industry.

Those who ascribe to the aforementioned beliefs do not trust the country's vast resources, its ability to pick up the necessary knowledge and its ability to produce great people

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at the right time. Such individuals not only belittle India's potential but also lower her prestige in the world.

Indian exports, did not decline after the economic reforms of 1991. (Which some doomsayers had predicted) nor have our imports gone up very much. The rupee has been stable since its last devaluation. Deregulation of the economy has improved the competitiveness of the Indian industry to the point that even government controlled sector is being prepared to compete in the open market. Given this situation, it would be incorrect to say that introduction of foreign newspapers will hurt India's national interest or that it will lower the national confidence and the will to move ahead. After all, who is afraid of a little competition here?

Papers Report on Rao Visit to Singapore

Lecture at Southeast Asia Institute

951500014 Madras THE HINDU in English
9 Sep 94 p 14

[Unattributed article: "Stop Preaching, PM Tells Big Powers", quotation marks as published]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Singapore, Sept. 8. The Prime Minister, Mr P.V. Narasimha Rao, today deprecated attempts to import and export fundamentalism giving it a "transnational and supra-national" colour and the attitude of dominant powers to make "intrusive prescriptions" to the less developed countries.

Delivering the annual lecture at the Institute of South East Asian Studies here, he outlined the emergence of certain attitudes worldwide like the temptation to blame developments outside for their own internal problems, clash of cultures and unsympathetic attitudes "bordering on ignorance" to social problems of the less developed countries.

Calling for containing the attempts to trade in fundamentalism, he decried the "increasing tendency" of the dominant powers at cartelisation of technical knowledge, erection of trade barriers and prescriptions even on domestic administration.

The Prime Minister also referred to the dangerous aspects of drug smugglers, terrorists and money launderers who managed to suborn governments in their own interests.

'No Expansionist Designs'

The Prime Minister said India had no expansionist designs in the region and there was no need for alarm that the country was going in for a blue water navy. India had no military designs in the region and rather it had been an oft invaded land which was an undeniable fact.

Mr. Narasimha Rao said the magnitude of India's territory was such that it was a strategic policy of the nation to defend its maritime boundary and also to check the

problem of smuggling, terrorist activity and migration. Yet India's defence expenditure is the lowest compared to nations even half-its-size.

The Prime Minister said recently India had been depicted as a country with the potential of becoming a major power in the region along-with China and Japan since the withdrawal of the U.S. from the region.

Seeks Investment

Inviting investment from the Asia-Pacific region in the development of infrastructure sector in India, the Prime Minister said the country needed massive investment in this area. He said the effort of his government was to "draw as much as possible" from the region. Massive investments were needed in the fields of power, oil, telecom, fertilizers, agriculture, irrigation, roads, rail and ports. Such investments would help provide large-scale employment to the youths of the country.

Mr. Rao said that despite the end of Cold War an estimated 73 potential hot spots had been identified in the world. He quoted Pandit Nehru's address in Bandung in 1955 to say that Asia had been passive in the past but the Asia of today was dynamic.

He said that in a democracy it was a difficult task to ensure that the nation was worthy of being a member of the international community while facing the massive problem of development and the responsibility to provide food, clothing and shelter.

He also referred to the close contacts between India and that part of the world, especially Singapore, that existed for centuries.

Mr. Rao regaled his audience at the lecture saying that the city-state formed part of his name.

Tracing the centuries-old relationship between India and South East Asia, especially Singapore, he said he was aware that at least two villages had the name of Singapore near his native home in Andhra Pradesh.—PTI

Question-and-Answer Session, Talks

95450003B Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English (date not given) pp 9, 1

[Unattributed article: "Rao Seeks Massive Foreign Investment"]

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Singapore, September 8. The Prime Minister, Mr P.V. Narasimha Rao today declared that India had no expansionist designs and invited massive international investment, particularly from the Asia-Pacific region, to India, which was a reliable partner with a vast market potential.

Delivering a lecture on "India and the Asia-Pacific-forging a New Relationship," organised by the Institute of South-East Asian Studies, Mr Rao allayed fears that his government had slowed down the pace of

economic liberalisation launched three years ago and categorically stated that multi-nationals would be welcome to India in a big way. [passage omitted]

Later, in a question-answer session, the Prime Minister did not meet agree with a suggestion that big Indian businessmen were not happy over the entry of multi-nationals. "Don't believe them when they say they are not happy ... It is not a bad thing. It has become a fact of life and we can't wish the multi-nationals away. We have opened up our economy."

Asked how India had been able to remain united despite religious diversions, Mr Rao said, "The secret lies in our hoary past ... India has been invaded by many but all of them became part of the land, except the British."

Earlier, after one-to-one talks between Mr Rao and his Singaporean counterpart, Mr Goh Chok Tong, that lasted for 30 minutes, Singapore favoured India's inclusion in the ASEAN as a "full dialogue" member and identified power generation and rural housing as possible areas for investments. This was allowed by a high-power delegation level discussion lasting an hour. As regards India's role in the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) and the newly-constituted Asian Regional Forum (ARF), Singapore has "a positive attitude" towards New Delhi, according to an Indian delegation spokesman.

Soon after the delegation level talks were over, the two governments signed a memorandum of understanding (MoU) on foreign office consultations in the presence of Mr Rao and Mr Goh.

The minister of state for external affairs, Mr R.L. Bhatia and the senior minister of state for foreign affairs, Mr Lim Hng Kiang, initialled the MoU on behalf of India and Singapore.

Mr Rao said his talks with his counterpart were "cordial and practical."

The two Prime Ministers discussed in some detail matters relating to the ASEAN, the ARF and the APEC.

India is desirous of being made a full dialogue partner in ASEAN, which is economically the fastest growing region in the world.

Mr Rao said India looked at Singapore as the "gateway" to ASEAN.

It is at present the sectoral dialogue partner. The Singapore side felt India could be involved in more sectors other than those such as investment and tourism leading to full dialogue status.

Mr Rao said the investments from Singapore in India had risen recently, but there was far greater scope in this area. There were suggestions that Singapore invest in rural housing, power, especially for rural electrification and rural industries.

Uttarkhand Movement Seen End of Caste Politics

UP Government Unstable

95AS0019A Calcutta ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA
in Bengali 13 Sep 94 p 4

[Article by Suman Chattopadhyay: "Uttar Pradesh is Again Instable; Mulayam is Anxious to Put His House in Order"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In the past 5 years there were three elections to the Uttar Pradesh (UP) legislative assembly. In the backdrop of the critical survival condition of the Mulayam Singh Yadav government since its coming to power only 9 months ago, the possibility of another UP election cannot at all be ruled out in the near future. The frequent change of government in Lucknow is the biggest proof of the kind of instability under which the most politically important state of the country is passing through.

It looks like the Congress Party high command under the leadership of Narasimha Rao will not approve immediately the decision taken by the U.P. State Congress Working Committee led by Narayan Dutt Tiwari to extend no more support to the Mulayam Singh government from within and without the legislative assembly. It appears from the indications that have been so far received from Delhi and Lucknow that by holding talks both sides should try to find a compromising formula and avoid the crisis for this time because both of them know that the fall of the UP government at this moment would not bring benefit to anyone, certainly not to the Congress Party. But if a temporary understanding is reached now, it cannot also be definitely said how long that will last.

It was obvious from the sudden unilateral extreme decision taken by Tiwari of withdrawing Congress support to Mulayam keeping Delhi completely in the dark, that this aged Brahmin hill leader wanted to kill two birds with one stone. Realizing the manner in which a movement was building up in his own estate at Uttarkhand against Mulayam government's reservation policy, the "panditji" (Brahmin leader) perhaps did not have any other option but to take extreme measures in order to save his own popularity especially when he had to enter practically into a frontal war with the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) for capturing the vote bank of the Hindu upper classes in the state. This is also a fact, the support of the oppressed, the Muslims and the backward classes was not existing in the bag of the Congress Party. If after all this Tiwari remained silent on the Uttarkhand movement, then there was a fear that the sign of Congress would not be available even amongst the Hindu upper classes of the hill region. Maybe Tiwari wanted to avoid the possibility of that disaster, and hoped that the pressure of withdrawal of support could force Mulayam to change his policy. And if that turned out to be true, then why stop with the hill region, his image would have brightened even among all higher class people opposing

reservation throughout the state. And again, if it was not the case and the high command did not approve his withdrawal of support, then Tiwari could at least save face by stating to his own Uttarakhand people that he had done whatever he could in response to their demands. In other words, Tiwari took this risk by calculating that in whatever direction the situation might turn, it won't bring any harm to him.

It could also be that considering the situation as a golden opportunity, the shrewd UP Brahmin had somewhat intentionally tried to put the Telugu Brahmin leader of the Congress Party (Narasimha Rao) to unnecessary discomfort and trouble. Due to the spectacular success of the Congress Party in the South, Pamulaparti Venkata Narasimha Rao became the prime minister of the country and since then a North-South tug-of-war has started inside the party. As the Congress suffered an ignominious defeat in the election war in the cow-belt zone—especially in UP and Bihar—the party now does not give that much importance to the leaders of these two states. Not only that, whatever the Congress leaders of these two states try to do for protecting their own selfish interests are considered as contrary to the overall interests of the present all-India situation. Recently that clash of interests has become evident on the issue of reservation for the backward classes. The Congress leadership in Delhi, including Narasimha Rao, know that if they want to secure their existence in the federal government by holding their fort strong in the South, then they have to keep the backward classes on their side. That is why it is not possible for them to make vigorous opposition to Mulayam in UP and Laloo Prasad in Bihar at least on this one issue of backward classes. The Congress leaders of the cow-belt region are already unhappy with Rao's leadership for their different views on the questions of, on one side, his not giving any importance to them and, on the other, the protection of their mutual interests. At this moment, Tiwari is the biggest symbol of that indignation inside the Congress Party.

Similar to Narasimha Rao's relations with Arjun Singh his relations with Tiwari at the personal level in many ways were also not that good. At the earlier stages after becoming the prime minister Rao did not like to give any importance to Tiwari. He did not give him any position in the council of ministers or in the Congress Working Committee. Later of course, after establishing his absolute authority in the party and in the government, Rao tried to pacify the angry Tiwari by offering him first the position of the deputy chairman of the planning commission and then the chairman of the economic commission. But Tiwari rejected both of them. If finally Tiwari has agreed to give leadership to the Congress Party in his own state, then its objective could be that in this manner he would perhaps try to widen the path of his revival in politics. (There is no doubt that to a person—who in his long 55 years of active political life had been the UP chief minister four times and was in charge of important federal ministries like finance, foreign, trade, industries and labor—the leadership of the State Congress Party is not a very precious achievement

for him). And getting the first opportunity in fulfilling that goal Tiwari wanted to prove that he did not want to remain as an obedient servant of Rao. Therefore, this situation could perhaps be considered as much a cause of irony for Rao as pride for Tiwari.

Again, it is not at all difficult to guess that Mulayam Singh Yadav is also asking for the same thing as Tiwari. Mulayam essentially desires that by realizing the monopoly support of the backward classes he would set up such a "constituency" for himself in UP so that he can hope to secure the administrative seat of Lucknow in the next election without depending on anyone. Meanwhile, Vishwanath Pratap Singh's Janata Dal (JD) has practically become irrelevant in UP politics. Demonstrating a brave attitude on the Babri mosque issue, Mulayam stood by the side of the Muslims in UP state. If the support of the backward classes joins the Muslims, then Mulayam would be able to set up that "constituency" which would become a real difficult thing to defeat in any election.

After the 1991 legislative assembly election, Mulayam Singh has learned the important lesson as to why it is necessary for him to set up such a constituency. At the initial stages Mulayam did not practice vigorous caste politics like his caste-compatriot Laloo Prasad of Bihar. He was not even as vocal as was Laloo Prasad on the question of the implementation of the Mandal Commission recommendations [on the backward classes]. Mulayam now believes that he had to pay a price for that uncertainty in the 1991 election. In that election the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) not only monopolized the votes of the Hindu upper classes but even got the votes of a section of backward classes (such as Lodhis and Kurmis) for their attraction to this spokesman of Hinduism. Under the situation realizing that there was no possibility for Mulayam's victory, the Muslims at the last moment tilted toward Vishwanath Pratap Singh's Janata Dal. Thus, in this way Mulayam was wiped out in the election despite having the glory of saving the framework of the Babri mosque.

Meanwhile, it is clear like a day that after coming this time to power Mulayam is trying to correct that mistake. It is for only that reason and also for establishment himself as a friend of the backward classes he tried to make arrangements for the reservation of 27 percent of the jobs in the government and seats in the schools and colleges for them. This political move has put all his oppositions, especially the BJP, to an extremely embarrassing position. If the BJP does not support the agitation that has started in Uttarakhand against the decision of the Mulayam government, then it is bound to lose its popularity among the Hindu upper classes. And if it extends support to it, then it will lose its popularity in the backward classes in the plains. Undoubtedly, this decision of Mulayam has come to both the BJP and the Congress Party damned if you do or do not situation.

Mulayem could not save the Babri mosque, but with the grace of Allah he has again become the chief minister. The Muslims in Uttar Pradesh had overwhelmingly voted for Mulayem's own party and that of his partner Bahujan Samaj Party. The two Bokharis, who are the senior and junior Imams of Delhi's Jama Masjid, with their loud harangues could not divert the Muslim mind toward other leaders or parties.

In the last UP election, Mulayem made a monopoly capture of Muslim votes and Kanshi Ram grabbed the votes of the lower caste and oppressed people. But still both the leaders could not secure an absolute majority for forming a government. Mulayem's coalition always remained as a minority government. By manipulating the BJP-awe that grew in the minds of other parties, Mulayem captured the rein of Lucknow and that government has survived for 10 months.

In these 10 months a malignant trouble started within the coalition government. The new drive of the Kanshi Ram's Bahujan Samaj Party was to take away the Muslim support from Mulayem and with that objective Maharani Mayawati of the party demanded a 10 percent reservation for the Muslims in the educational and employment fields. She intentionally played this trick, because in the constitution there is nothing on the reservation for the Muslims. Over and above, in order to satisfy the upper class U.P. Hindus, Mulayem Singh Yadav was thinking of providing reservation for their children.

In reply to Mayawati's demand, Mulayem said that 80 percent of Muslim society will draw benefit from the opportunities given to the backward classes. If he could introduce the 10 percent reservation for the Hindu upper class, then the Muslim society will share 20 percent of it. Mayawati said: No, it won't do. You can't do any kind of reservation for the Hindu upper classes. The arrangement for the 10 percent reservation should only go to the Muslims, she added.

At the pressure of Kanshi Ram-Mayawati the reservation for the scheduled caste and tribes has been raised from 20 to 23 percent and for other backward castes it has been fixed to 27 percent. Adding both of them, an order for the reservation of 50 percent has been implemented.

The Supreme Court has asked not to cross this limit of reservation. But Mulayem Singh Yadav has said that he will reserve 10 percent of seats for the higher classes and 2 percent for the tribals. In that case the U.P. reservation limit will reach to 62 percent. Mulayem said that if the Supreme Court becomes a hindrance to it, then the constitution has to be amended.

Mayawati wants 10 percent reservation separately for the Muslims in the schools-colleges and also in employment centers. Mulayem is causing an obstacle to it. He wants 10 percent reservation for the Hindu upper classes and that has angered the Muslims. Some of the educators at the Aligarh [Muslim] University said addressing Mulayem, "Brutus, also thou art."

In order to get rid of this crisis, Mulayem called for a statewide strike. His principal fight was with Mayawati. Diamond cuts diamond, was the main theme of that fight. In that fight all moves got a counter-move. By calling the strike, Mulayem wanted to prove to the oppressed and under-privileged people that he is their man and he will remain with them in their happiness and sorrows. For that he is even ready to lose his position. He doesn't care if as a result of the strike his government falls. He will stand for the election afresh and will continue to pursue his politics on casteism. Mulayem said this to the prime minister during his 12 September meeting. He said that he would never withdraw the 13 September strike because it was called in support of the reservation policy.

But the federal government accepts the reservation policy. It has even included 79 percent of the Tamil Nadu reservation act into the ninth schedule of the constitution so that the act could go outside the jurisdiction of the courts. Kanshi Ram calls the Congress and the BJP Brahmin parties. But both of them are also the full supporters of reservation.

Then against whom has Mulayem declared a holy war through the strike? Is it against only Uttarkhand? That hilly region is a part of Uttar Pradesh and no chief minister wants to punish a part of his own state. Moreover, Mulayem Singh has neither the need nor the capacity to have any bet on the politics of Uttarkhand. Out of the 19 legislative assembly centers in that area, Mulayem candidates did not win even one. He himself has said: "I don't bother about Uttarkhand."

But his headache is only with Mayawati. As Mayawati is trying to influence the Muslims, playing a counter-move. Mulayem is making efforts to drive out the depressed and the scheduled caste people from the Kanshi Ram-Mayawati camp. Moreover, the so-called under-privileged people have assembled under the banner of backward classes and among them the Yadavs are the supreme. As the forces of Yadav in Bihar stand united for Laloo Prasad [chief minister of Bihar], Yadavs in U.P. are also obedient to Mulayem Singh. The status of the Yadavs has been elevated with two Yadavs becoming the chief ministers of two states. They now claim higher position in the society because they believe that the Yadav dynasty has established itself firmly in the country.

Yadavs are the principal strength for Mulayem Singh. Pivoting on this strength Mulayem is trying to consolidate the support of the oppressed, depressed, tribal and the under-privileged people and this was his slogan of the strike. This maneuver won't hurt any other political party because with the introduction of communal and caste-based politics the profit and loss of different political parties have already been determined. Perhaps later on the present social order would change and if that takes place, then politics will also change. But until then the market for Mulayem-brand medicine will prevail, although there is no possibility of its becoming permanent.

Mulayem has to repeatedly hurt the Kansu Ram-Mayawati clique whether he remains in his power or descends from it. At present his fight is not that severe with the Congress, the BJP or the Janata Dal because he cannot comprehend their vote banks. Therefore, he has to forcibly grab land from the Bahujan Samaj Party. Otherwise, his party won't grow and also the foundation of his own politics won't expand. And through the strike Mulayem has embarked on this new strategy.

But this was not a new strategy in politics and also not a discovery of Mulayem. After Ambedkar's death Ram Manohar Lohia enthusiastically accepted casteism. He was a staunch socialist. But after a quarrel with Jayaprakash Narayan and Ashok Mehta [noted Indian freedom fighters and socialist leaders], he left the Praja Socialist Party and formed his own new Socialist Party and zealously tried to achieve an easy political success by muddling socialist ideas with casteism. And he did not fail—the outcome of the Lohia party was good in the 1967 election.

Vishwanath Pratap Singh has recently become a Lohia follower. Before it he perpetually worshipped the Nehru-Gandhi clan from Jawaharlal Nehru to Sanjay Gandhi. Being perplexed at the challenge of Devi Lal, he overnight became a follower of Mandalism [ideas supporting reservations for lower caste people]. But Mulayem is not that type. He is a devout disciple of Ram Manohar Lohia, and, thus, at the same time a socialist and a casteist.

Criticizing the Marxists of this country, Lohia used to say that their literature came from Moscow. Therefore, their views on real India is blurry. India is a country of cow-driven carts and they operate on two wheels—neither one nor four.

Lohia's training said that if both the wheels move together then dynamism will come to the Indian history. One of the wheels is class struggle and the other is conflict among the castes. If these two types of struggles join together, then only the chariot of the people will move forward and God will also wake up.

Basing on these ideals of Lohia, Vishwanath Pratap Singh, Laloo Prasad and Mulayem Singh did their politics. Therefore the word 'social justice' is coming out of their mouth like a maxim. But none of these three leaders is a great scholar like Ram Manohar Lohia. They do not have a greater access to the facts of history, society and politics. Their limit is only up to how to get votes. They calculate, and besides doing mere additions and subtraction they do not show any sign of deeper intelligence on the issue of voting. These three principal leaders of the present day politics based on casteism take vows in the name of Dr Lohia but forget that Lohia was a lustrous nationalist leader, who could never think of hurting Mother India for the sake of greed, interest or personal advantage. Lohia believed in revolution, but did not give any scope to make a slight deviation from the flow of national life.

During his era, Gautam the Buddha rebelled against the class and caste system that was practiced in the Indian

society. In this era Mahatma Gandhi campaigned against untouchability. He himself lived in a Bhangi [scavenger] Colony, Chottaniya, Nanak and Vivekananda [Hindu and Sikh religious leaders of India] wished for the end of caste system. Dr Lohia observed great faith in this continuity of tradition.

The Kansu Ram-Mayawati clique has humiliated that tradition. Holding public meetings they are belittling the Hindu upper-class and also censuring the whole tradition and inheritance of Hinduism by calling it Brahminism. But during the 10 month period of the Samajwadi Party-Bahujan Samaj Party coalition government the caste conflict remained confined only among the so-called lower class. In gangs the men of the lower classes raped the women of the depressed groups, set fire to their houses and also killed them. Yadav and Jatavs are engaged in a desperate war. This ruthless war among the lower classes started immediately after the Mulayem government came to power and that has never stopped.

Lohia wrote on Ambedkar, "He was a brave honest person, but was also narrow-minded and bitter. He never wanted to be a leader of the non-harijan [caste] groups." The significance of this evaluation of Ambedkar is that even after coming to the limelight of national life, Ambedkar was happy being the leader of a particular community. He could not become a national leader by crossing the boundaries of that community. In the opinion of Lohia—We need all-India national leaders and not only Harijan leaders.

Mulayem Singh Yadav is playing a political chess after carefully setting up the chess board and his calculations are not amateurish. But the biggest family war in the Indian traditional history took place at Kurukshetra and in that war there was no mistake in the calculation of Duryodhana [arch-villain of the epic Mahabharata]. Beside other soldiers and brave heroes, 10,000 soldiers of Narayana [supreme god of the Hindus] supplied by Lord Krishna fought on his side. They were part of Krishna and were also invincible like him. But still all calculations and military preparations of the Kauravas [Duryodhana group] failed. The leaders—who do not have India in their thoughts, reflections and feelings, but possess only selfishness, greed and intricacies—are bound to fail. That downfall has started with Mulayem.

Dimensions of Agitation for Uttarkhand Explored

BJP Dilemma

95450015A New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi
14 Sep 94 pp 1, 10

[Article by Pradip Singh: "BJP Has Become Perplexed By the Questions Raised by Uttarkhand"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The special three day meeting of the national executive committee of the Bharatiya Janata Party [BJP] in Patna, must find answers to many questions raised by the Uttarkhand agitation. The demand for a separate state of Uttarkhand has brought the BJP at a crossroads from where it cannot see its way

through. The subject of reservations is not its [BJP's] own. That is the reason it is hesitating to openly come out for a cause on a road not familiar to it. That is the reason it cannot decide its national agenda. The national executive (of BJP) is meeting in Patna for three days from 15th to 17th September.

The temple issue (The demand to build a Ram temple in place of a mosque) had created a polarization and placed the BJP in a very comfortable position. It separated BJP on the one side and all other parties on the other side. It was very comfortable for the BJP. Actually, the BJP had not earned this position. It was created and supported as an issue by the Vishwa Hindu Parishad [VHP]. BJP just sewed the results of the seeds planted by the VHP. After the events of 6th December, VHP and BJP leadership could not remain united and BJP lost its momentum. After the defeat of November 1993, it looks as if the BJP is stricken with polio.

After much consultation in June the national executive tried to revive the party. The leaders claimed that the party is getting over the defeat of the last legislative elections. To prove it they announced some new programs. The biggest of them was "Ring India" (A program to build a cordon of young men and women around the borders of India) but the program was not supported by the two main leaders of the party. The leader of the opposition in the Indian Parliament, Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpaee did not agree with strategy at all. Twice before they had announced the Ring India plan and both times he alone stood against it and the party had to drop the program. Only at the last minute did he agree to the program.

Before the November 1993 elections, BJP looked like a surging party on its way to taking power. But for the last year it seems it has lost its way. BJP is looking for an issue that can bring it back to the center of power. It is because of this search for issues that the party jumps sometimes on Harshad Mehta and his brokerage activity, sometimes Kashmir or sometimes on political corruption and lack of morality, as an issue. Before this search concludes, ten states will have gone to the polls. The leaders of the party were going to give primary consideration to this.

The political change in the state of Uttar Pradesh [UP] has really spoiled the equation for BJP. It played the temple card in response to Mr. V.P.Singh's Mandal card. It was successful in keeping Mandal out as an issue. It believed that it could stem the growth of communal dispersion with slogans of Hindu unity. The BJP has always been confused when it comes to communal politics. However, after the Ayodhya agitation in 1990, the BJP has received the support from all backward castes except the Yadavs. It has improved its position by leaving the party in the hands of Mr. Kalyan Singh. Even after the combine organized by the Samajwadi Party [SP] and the Bahujan Samaj Party [BSP] took power, this

support has held up. It was not threatened because of the love affair between Mulayam Singh Yadav and his Yadavs.

However, the rise of Congress as the third force in the state politics is dangerous for the party. In Patna the BJP has to find some answers to its dilemma about backward caste support, how to retain it. Although Congress high command is helping the BJP by ignoring the recommendation of the Uttar Pradesh state congress committee, BJP cannot remain reassured on this issue for long. Its difficulty is that it cannot attack Mulayam Singh Yadav without looking anti-backward caste. It has to find some other way by which it can attack Mulayam Singh Yadav and still retain the support of other backward castes. It has no program by which it can distract people's attention from this point. In this condition it will be forced to fight with Mulayam Singh Yadav on his turf. In Bihar it has to fight Laloo (Prasad) Yadav. The National executive has to prepare a plan for fighting the election in the ten states. It is the only national committee meeting before the state legislative elections. The meeting will also consider the charge sheet against central government of Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao and will approve it.

The national executive meeting will also review the two month program for "Ring India." It is also likely that each state unit will bring its own election manifesto for their state and that will be discussed too. We can almost state that the national executive meeting will be exclusively concerned with the elections.

Neglected Region

95AS0015B New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi
14 Sep 94 pp 1, 10

[Article by Umakant Lakheri: "Reservations Are Not the only Topic in Uttarkhand"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The anti-reservation agitation in the hilly areas of Uttar Pradesh has come to a point from where it seems unlikely that it will stop short of getting a new hill state. After 1956, this is the first time that the control of the agitation, arising from hopelessness and dissatisfaction has gone from political parties to students and young people.

Apparently this agitation is not only limited to the opposition to 27 percent reservation in education and government jobs for backward castes. Mr. Mulayam Singh Yadav has understood the fact that the people of Uttarkhand are united for a new state and his acceptance of Uttarkhand state itself proves the need for the separate state.

From India's independence till today the government has not given any consideration to the realities on the ground, whether in administration or in planning for the development of the hill districts. This has confirmed the people's lack of faith in the ability of the government to plan for the long-term. Whatever amount of money was allocated for the improvement of the hill areas were

wasted by the government officers and their friends, who were completely ignorant of the basic realities.

Originally due to local unemployment conditions, the young people from the hills started moving toward the plains and this movement kept on getting stronger as the time passed. To an extent, moving away from the hills became a fashion. A greater amount of wealth, in the form of educated young men, has gone out from the hills than all the money that was poured in here trying to improve conditions in the hills. The more they planned to improve conditions from Lucknow and New Delhi the greater was the destruction of the local economy and social conditions. They created new universities in Garhwal and Kumaon. A new agricultural university at Pantnagar was also opened. Additionally they opened the vocational schools to combat unemployment of the educated, but these institutions only succeeded in creating longer lines of educated unemployed. They never found any answers for the problems of the hills. Originally these universities and technical institutions were created to resolve the problems of the hill districts. However, they became new factories for creating longer lines of educated unemployed people in the mountains. Finally as if that were not enough, Mr. Mulayam Singh Yadav wanted to reserve 27 percent of the seats in the educational institutions and the jobs in the government for the backward castes. This meant they had taken away the last available right from young men and women living in the hill districts educated or uneducated.

In these years, many governments have come and gone in the state of Uttar Pradesh. But none could prepare a reliable, well-conceived plan at any level to improve the conditions in the hill districts. They kept on shuffling papers in the name of development. It deserves some serious consideration that inspite of all the claims, why more than 80 percent of the population in these districts is still living below the poverty line. The government figures show that there is no electricity or safe drinking water in more than 70 percent of the villages. In the hill districts, only 13 percent of the land is suitable for agriculture. Even then, more than 85 percent of the agricultural land has no facility for irrigation. Till now only announcements have been made to provide irrigation and to improve the agriculture in the hill districts. This area has the lowest personal income in the whole country. Six out of the eight districts are already known as unindustrialised districts. In these conditions if there is an opening in a government office, local candidates will be passed over for someone from the plains district who comes with a letter from some minister from Lucknow. This has been a tradition in the hill districts.

Mr. Mulayam Singh Yadav has announced a scheme to encourage tourism in the hill districts and to declare tourism a separate industry. But mere slogans will not satisfy people's need for food. The question is what kind of tourism will the government plan for? How it will affect the local economy? Will the local population prosper with this plan? There is a feeling here that if by

encouraging tourism in the hills, if the government brings good jobs for the unemployed in the hill districts then it is all right. However, if after the money is spent, the local people end up with menial jobs like cleaning pots and pans then that will mean tourism is just another tool for exploiting the hill population by western consumerism. The public is also asking the Mulayam Singh government how the government plans to educate young people from Uttarkhand for jobs of Hotel Management and Catering.

Today, big builders and land mafia types have got hold of the majority of good locations in the name of encouraging tourism. The hill people are tired and discouraged by a constant barrage of announcements about tourism and how it will change their fortunes. It is because of these reasons that the people are opposing the plans of the government. They (The government) have opened liquor shops in distant places in the name of tourism, although the income of the common people has not increased, their earnings are being drained by liquor. Local people are saying that some big brokers and the liquor mafia are getting rich in the name of the so called tourism plan. It is well known that for a long time the liquor mafia has had a strong hold over these mountainous region. It is the same people who manipulate votes in the elections and they know the weakness of the political parties. Corrupt officers are also friendly with these characters. Instead of uplifting the common man, they spread chaos and destruction in their path.

It is because of these reasons that the founding of the state of Uttarkhand is combined with the question of their living and existence. Started as a stir against the reservation system, this self rising agitation has created a heartfelt unity among all the people in the hill areas. It has made it clear that the people of Uttarkhand have rejected the rule of Lucknow. According to Mr. Kashi Singh Airy, the president of the Uttarkhand Revolutionary Party, the people of Uttarkhand want their own government and not a government sitting in Lucknow. According to him, the governments sitting in Lucknow and New Delhi should take it as a demonstration of the intense resentment of the Uttarkhand public.

A few days back, Mr. Mulayam Singh Yadav introduced a resolution in the Uttar Pradesh legislature approving the creation of Uttarkhand state. This hurried passing of the resolution without any debate shows some of his own political weaknesses. Three years back the BJP government under Mr. Kalyan Singh had also passed a similar resolution which was sent to the Parliament for further action. Basically both resolutions are the same. In fact Mr. Kalyan Singh pointed out that the only difference between the resolution he sent to New Delhi and this new one is mainly in the name of the new state which was changed from Uttaranchal to Uttarkhand. It should be remembered that the Rao government has already rejected many times the proposal to make the new state. Even after sending the resolution for Uttarkhand, there was no let up of the intensity of the agitation. Originally

Mr. Mulayam Singh's head strong and anti-Uttarkhand statements have turned the public so much against him that all his announcements have no effect on the hill public. This matter is very clear to every one. This chief minister is in a hurry to give the new state to the hill districts to remove the curse of backwardness. He is also the same person who wants to cut their throats by insisting on reservations in education and jobs without taking into account the 80 percent who are living below the line of poverty. This is the result of the communal politics being played in Uttar Pradesh. Mr. Mulayam Singh, by insisting on social justice and using logically inconsistent thinking, has cruelly pushed the whole question of Uttarkhand in the flames of agitation.

It is also clear that not all problems will be solved by the separate state. In Uttarkhand, due to geographical reasons, the administrative units like districts, counties, blocks etc. are in such a patchwork that officers from the headquarters forget about the development of the area, they cannot even grasp the geographical make up of the area and ask for transfer to some more suitable place. No one has tried to make smaller, more manageable districts, blocks etc. and laid out a plan for their development. This is true whether the ruling party is the Congress or the BJP.

By government figures, there are atleast 400,000 veterans in Uttar Pradesh. After spending their life in the defense of the country, these educated and sincere people have no way to get involved. There are many rivers and rivulets flowing near small out of the way villages. The water flow in these rivers can be used to irrigate the village agricultural land and generate enough electricity to light the homes but the government has no interest in the basic necessities of these villages. Increasing the yield of the land, or providing electricity to light the dark nights is too mundane for the government. Instead it is interested in implementing the large schemes to serve the metropolitan areas like the Tehri Dam with foreign aid. It is also avoiding giving consideration to the environmental hazards of such schemes. After the implementation of the forest regulations, cutting and shipping of trees for building material from the hill districts has increased on the one hand, while on the other hand the villagers from hill districts have to agitate for using some branches of a fallen tree. 47 years after independence, these people are still agitating for a primary school in every village and for drinking water in every house. For them independence has not meant anything.

Some Congress leaders can be seen in New Delhi doing some activities related to Uttarkhand. Before meeting with BJP and Mr. Mulayam Singh Yadav's representatives in connection with the demand for Uttarkhand, Congress had thought of organizing a hill council like the one for Darjeeling and its surrounding area. But the way all parties have been unanimous in demanding the separate state of Uttarkhand, has changed the Congress

local leaders too. It is being said here that Congress leaders themselves are putting pressure on the home ministry.

In fact all parties are familiar with the broken promises and the lost patience of the public in the hill areas. Most political activists and leaders are familiar with the fact that for the hill people, their dream of independence has not meant the removal of poverty, unemployment or social and cultural exploitation. Neither are they on a path of development that can give them hope for removal of these things in the future. Every five years and sometimes even within two or three years, they have been asked to vote. But they have not been able to generate the responsibility in their representatives for fighting against the problems of the development of the hill districts.

Separate Uttarkhand Province Seen Inevitable

Region Unique

95AS0017A New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi
25 Sep 94 pp 1-11 (Supplement)

[Article by Rakesh Tiwari: "To Make a Separate Uttarkhand or Not to Make a Separate Uttarkhand"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The hill districts of Uttar Pradesh [UP], usually peaceful, are full of agitation now. This movement started on the issue of reservations has evolved into the demand for a separate Uttarkhand. Is this a people's movement or just an emotional issue? Will the separate identity of their culture be maintained by forming a separate state? Will the complex problems there be resolved? Rakesh Tiwari has discussed these issues with some intellectuals associated with the hill districts.

The campaign against reservations and for a separate state in the hill districts of Uttar Pradesh has been making the headlines in newspapers. This movement appears to be the result of anger over the reservations policy. However, there are many other reasons behind it. The main reasons are: the backwardness of Uttarkhand, exploitation, the unchecked sale of land to outsiders, unemployment, lack of vocational training, erroneous developmental plans, poverty, and alcohol abuse. This movement appears to be the result of prolonged suppressed anger over all these problems.

The series of strikes, sit-ins and demonstrations have been going on in Uttarkhand for one and a half months. There has been violence in Mussoorie and Khateema. These strikes, observed in order to demonstrate the strength of the Samajwadi Party [SP] and the Bahujan Samaj Party [BSP], indicate that Mulayam Singh does not have any interest in resolving this situation. The people involved in the movement have also lost the opportunity for negotiations because of their inflexibility. Meanwhile, it does appear proper for the Center to accept the idea of a separate state. Accepting this

demand would mean considering similar requests from other states and opening the door for new demands. The Center wants to avoid this.

However, the Center is responsible for resolving the deteriorating situation in Uttarkhand and finding a solution. The political parties have... and the arena for their vote war. This politics of votes is also responsible for changing the main issue of reservations. No positive discussions could take place on the issue of the possibility of the region making progress as a smaller unit of the state because of the political games being played here. It is imperative that talks on the reorganization of the state be held now. What should be done now is to have a national debate on the issue of reservations. After all, the reservation system was started to help backward groups and not to start casteist confrontations. Unfortunately, no political party is demanding talks to resolve this burning question.

Keeping in view the whole situation, it is necessary to debate whether Uttarkhand should be made a separate state or not. It is important to learn about the opinion of all the groups living there. To this end, JANSATTA has tried to get the opinions of some intellectuals who are originally from this hilly region.

Manohar Shyam Joshi, renowned author and a major power working behind the small screen of television, said on the issue of separate Uttarkhand, "No one should have even a shadow of doubt about the fact that there should be a separate state. Uttarkhand has been neglected. The eastern part of the state also has been neglected, however, there has been progress in agricultural production there which has not happened in Uttarkhand. We are suffering from backwardness and poor economy." Will forming a separate state miraculously resolve these problems? Manohar Shyam Joshi has doubts about it. He says, "I surveyed the situation in the hills while I was shooting my documentary film. The people in the hills say that Lucknow is very far, but Lansdowne is also very far from Almora. There are many complex problems in Uttarkhand. There is backwardness and also disparity because of the caste system. It is between Nepal on one side and Himachal Pradesh on the other. There is more unity in Himachal Pradesh when compared to Uttarkhand. There are differences of opinion in Himachal Pradesh, however, it is not as bad as it is here. One person stated on my documentary film that out of 100 rupees allocated by the government, 70 rupees are spent in Lucknow. By the time aid money arrives in the hills, only 10 rupees are left. The same thing happens when international aid is issued. The aid that is given to poorer nations disappears in the pockets of various people. The same situation is true about the backward states. It is possible that this will not happen if a separate state is formed.

Mr. Joshi said on the issue of reservations, "Mulayam Singh is right in saying that separate systems for reservations cannot be made for different regions. Still, the

demand for reservations made by people here is also logical. Should persons of different castes be declared backward here? We can find backward persons even among the backward groups here. Perhaps, a separate state will be formed, however, I am not very optimistic about it. There are also some vested interests involved. This might also destroy the all Indian character of our region. For example, asking Narayan Dutt Tiwari, who could be the chief minister of Uttar Pradesh, to become the chief minister of Uttarkhand.

Well-known economist P.C. Joshi says, "Making a separate state is not an easy thing. I will welcome it if it is formed tomorrow because it is what the people want. The geographical situation is different there and all policies are made by the people in the plains. The root cause behind this movement is the difference, specific character of the people here, and the economic backwardness of the region. Agriculture alone cannot support the region. The way the people in the plains view the region just will not work. The well-off residents of Uttarkhand get administrative positions, the middle class people become office clerks, and the lower class persons become office peons. This curse has been in practice for a long time. The education here does not provide any skills. The only salvation the people here see is in getting a government job. Those with some capital and the people from other states purchase hotels and gardens. The people of Uttarkhand could not get their share in trade and business."

P.C. Joshi continues, "Uttarkhand as a state can be successful only when there are active and involved elements here. Otherwise, it will become a struggle for power. We will get entangled in such issues as [deciding] which city will be the capital and who will be the chief minister. We have the "money order" system in Uttarkhand now. What we are seeing here is actually the same problem as exists in the economic model of India. There is this political model which is centralized. The farther away a state is, the more problems it has. At present, the whole attention is focused on the question as to where the investment money will come from. There are four options available to Uttarkhand. Firstly, a separate state. Secondly, a hill federation. Thirdly, becoming a union territory. Fourthly, maintaining the status quo. We have to forget the fourth option. The government will be decentralized under either of the three other options. All this is so that the people here develop new skills. A survey is important for it. We also need science and technology here. The Uttarkhand state will not be able to achieve all this.

P.C. Joshi said about the present leadership, "There is a vacuum in the area of leadership now. The major leaders have become old. We need leadership that is focused on development and away from the politics of votes. At present, it is necessary to reduce the temperature of the movement and hold talks to this end. The Center should take the initiative. Some national leaders should go visit the region. Uttarkhand is a peaceful region and it should

remain so. The Center should depute some leaders there because the situation is getting worse by the day. The people should be assured that the government is willing to listen to them.

Pankaj Bishat, novelist and journalist, has a different opinion. Says he, "If a separate state is to be formed because of geographical difference, then it should be viewed broadly. We can understand it if there are smaller states with effective governments. However, this should happen in other regions also. I do not agree that Uttarkhand is being treated unfairly. Uttarkhand's situation is not any different than that of the whole Uttar Pradesh. If we discuss poverty, Uttarkhand is not as poor as some other regions. The recent surveys show that Bundhelkhand is the poorest region. This demand for Uttarkhand is absurd at this time. There is this argument over the reservation quotas that the schools will be full of outside people. Is it possible? Which elementary school has the facilities that could attract people from outside? This could be a problem in some of the larger hill cities. In some villages, there are no students. The fact is that the history of the Uttar Pradesh hill region is separate from the rest of India. The Muslims never ruled here. This is the only region where the higher castes are a majority. The whole mentality here is "Brahmanic" and they want only white collar jobs.

Our only industry is education and this education is geared to obtain white collar jobs. When this system was attacked, there were strong objections. The farmers and laborers go to school here so they can become clerks or peons. The political parties are taking advantage of this situation and the upper class in the plains is fanning this fire. Uttarkhand is being used as a pawn in the war of the people in the plains. Their problems are being resolved in this process.

When asked about the role of the Bharatiya Janata Party [BJP], Mr. Bishat said, "The BJP has played a criminal role. What happened between Mulayam Singh and the BJP has perpetuated this movement. Neither Mulayam Singh nor the BJP was serious about passing a resolution and sending it to the Center. Since there are only 19 legislative seats here, these do not make any difference for Mulayam Singh. This issue helped resolved the differences between the SP and the BSP and they are united now.

In the opinion of Vishav Mohan Badola, veteran journalist with the English daily PIONEER and a dramatist, a separate state must be created. However, he says, "We have not envisioned Uttarkhand by rising above the main problems. It is still a fantasy. First of all, the people there should be partners in the economic system. Murali Monohar Joshi says that he will start electronics industries there. We shall see when this happens. What is there now? We have just two universities—Kumaon and Gharwal."

Will the Uttarkhand movement be successful or not? He responds: "It is premature to say anything now. Outside

people cannot buy land in Himachal Pradesh. Why is this not the case in Uttarkhand? What will you be able to do after you get Uttarkhand if you still practice the ceremony of getting drunk at five in the evening? If you do not have the control over the economy, then you cannot do any thing. It is premature to talk about a separate state at this time. It will be a total disaster if we do it in a hurry. It is true that we cannot make progress without making a separate state, however, there should be some conditions for it. Neither Murali Monohar Joshi nor N.D. Tiwari can lead this movement. The present leadership just does not have the vision."

Dr. Ganga Prasad Vimal, well-known writer and the director of the Central Hindi Directorate, said, "the fact is that Uttarkhand is suffering from gross neglect. The demand for a separate state was not as strong in the past. However, when the people saw how Himachal Pradesh made progress as a small state, this demand was raised. This region does not get even one percent of the resources it provides. Delhi would never have progressed if these hills were not here. A separate state should be formed because a smaller unit is more effective. Such smaller units are important for economic and cultural development. If we look at our history, we will find that smaller units in India were more progressive. If we make Uttarkhand a state, this region will help make the whole nation prosperous. This will be in India's interest. Uttarkhand alone will fill the country with foreign exchange through its tourist industry."

About lack of leadership, Dr. Vimal says, "Leadership will rise right from here and not be imported from outside. We do not lack talent. We have scientists like K.S. Valdiya and artists like Mohan Upreti.

Himanshu Joshi, famous writer and journalist, believes that what is happening in Uttarkhand now has resulted from directionless politics. "The government does not wake up until there is sabotage and the people are forced to take to violence. What kind of primitive solution is this? A long time ago, before the formation of states on the basis of language, the Kalelkar report was presented to then-prime minister Nehru. This report had suggested that the smaller states would be more appropriate for equitable development of the nation and the progress would be accelerated. It asked to divide the nation into 50 or 60 small states based on the economic situation. The division of [Punjab into] Haryana, Punjab and Himachal is a living example of this. Had they accepted this recommendation, our nation might have made more economic progress

Subhash Dhulia, associate professor in the Indian Communication Institute and a journalist, thinks that a separate state should have been formed a long time ago. This is the only region between Kashmir and Gangtok where a separate state has not been formed. That is why Uttarkhand has not made any progress. Progress can be made only when potatoes are grown in the village where they can. Garlic, papaya, and guava grow very well in

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Pauri region. However, the people spend their whole energy growing wheat. They should sow the crop that grows well. This leads to the development of a marketing system. The people in Himachal grow apples where they grow well. This dissatisfaction [in Uttarkhand] has resulted from several reasons such as not having built major dams, illiteracy, and unemployment. If a 27 percent reservation quota is decided for education, we will have the danger of losing our identity. People from outside cannot buy land in Himachal and Kashmir. There is the danger that if outside people come here, our cultural identity will be endangered. This movement has resulted from the anger created among the people by these situations. The people are ahead and the leaders are left behind. The leaders are endorsing it so they can exist. This issue is not related to caste issues; it is the question of poverty. Be it a Brahman or a Kshatriya, they are all poor. The banking system is such that of the 100 rupees invested only 8 rupees are spent here.

Subhash Dhuliya believes that if a separate state is formed, the people here can decide on what to do about the reservation system. The hill people are not against the Dalits. The daughters of Harijans are not raped here and the Harijans are addressed as uncles. Yes, they do practice untouchability. The government has provided aid to Himachal, Kashmir, and the northeastern states. Funding should be made available to help this region make progress.

Govind Singh, assistant editor of THE NAVBHARAT TIMES, said, "It is my strong opinion that there should be a separate state. The first reason is the problems in administration. Lucknow is very far and Delhi appears to be closer. The second reason is the cultural difference between Uttarkhand and the plains. We are joined as a unit by culture. Mulayam Singh wants to disintegrate this movement. He says that the hill region is prosperous when compared to Bundelkhand and the eastern region. Mulayam Singh is offering these figures based on the population in the plains, and not by area. It means that he has no understanding of what development means here. This only exposes his designs. The question is of a different model for development. If we make progress like Himachal did, the people here will not leave the area. They started a horticultural university and discovered a different route for progress. Tourism increased there after the state was formed. The tea gardens we used to have [in the Uttarkhand area] are destroyed now.

If one person, Yashwant Singh Parmar, could help Himachal, we can too, because we do not lack talented people. When the whole world got the idea of balancing the situation in this region [Himachal], why should not similar talents help improve the situation here? We have talented persons in every discipline here.

Pointing to the risks if this demand is not met, he says, "This movement is slowly moving toward separation. The character of this region is different because of its situation on the border. The people still believe that education should be geared to joining the military. There are about 80,000 retired soldiers in this district. There is news about agitation amongst these soldiers. There is a reason for it. The use of alcohol has increased here. A soldier retires at the age of 35 and is considered unemployed. The fear is that this movement will go into wrong direction. Therefore, the prime minister should understand the sensitivity of this issue."

Devender Upadhyaye, special correspondent of THE DAINIK DESHBANDHU and a writer, comments on the lack of leadership in the Uttarkhand movement, "This is anarchy. There is no collaboration and decisions are made without agreement. Only the left wing has established its identity. The Communist Party of India that had made this demand first in 1952 has disappeared. No party is in a situation to oppose it now. The BJP that had declared this demand to be a separatist issue is supporting it now. However, the BJP still does not appear to be serious. It has suppressed the issue of reservation. The Congress workers are cooperating with the local people, however, those of the BJP are not.

Science fiction writer Devender Mewari says on the question of reservation, "I have lived in far-flung villages. Most of the people there are economically backward. We have to provide food rations for students to stay in hostels while still in high school. There are no fees as are charged in cities like Nainital. Even the students who have the highest grade point average here cannot go to study in Nainital. Even the high caste people are in bad situation. The question of reservations will come up afterwards. The parents hope that their son would be able to get a job after finishing his education. However, where are the jobs? The people will be angry when there is unemployment. Fruits like peaches and apples rot in the hills. There is no arrangement to use these. There are no opportunities for starting businesses, either. No progress has been made. Those who are educated think they will be able to get a job by going to the plains. Dissatisfaction is increasing because of all this.

Says Mewari on the issue of a separate state: "If a separate state prospers, it will help the prosperity of our nation as it is a part of our nation. Industries such as horticulture, medicinal plants, cattle farming, electronics, photography, and electricity generation can be established here. This movement is showing its effects. However, we lack leadership that can direct the whole energy toward productive work. No major leader appears to emerge among the local leaders. We hope if the idea (of a separate state) is approved, they do not start fighting among themselves."

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[Article by Prem Bhatiya: "The Creation of Uttarkhand Province Appears Inevitable"]

[FBIS Translated Text] During the 1980s and 1990s when I was working with The TRIBUNE in Chandigarh, there was a mention of Garhwal [by Bhatiya] in an article. That appeared to be harmless at that time, but it put me in serious trouble. That discussion came to my mind again now in the context of Uttarkhand movement. That incident was the first hint about this kind of marginal sensitivity. Other kinds of debacles are being expressed in belligerent language and in angry demonstrations these days.

While writing about the difficulty one faces in seeing senior government officials who are rarely found in their offices, I had referred to a phone call to a senior secretary. I wrote in my article that the Garhwali peon answering the phone had said, "The boss is not available as he is in a 'mating' (meeting)." He appeared to be very amused to mispronounce meeting as mating as I was with my readers. At that time, I was not aware that I was touching a sensitive issue.

Local residents from Garhwal had telephoned and written in their objections over my stupidity in making fun of the limited knowledge of a Garhwali. They also threatened to hold a demonstration at the Tribute House. I apologized unconditionally and thus calmed down my critics. They were correct that since thousands of Indian mispronounced many English words, why did I have to mention the mistake of this specific Garhwali peon?

The movement to establish Uttarkhand we are seeing goes way beyond the sensitivity of the people in the northern hills over the linguistic ignorance of many Garhwali and Kumaon people. Just like many other regions of India, these people have become very eager to be identified as a geographical and cultural unit. Their desire for economic development is genuine, however, their complaints about exploitation by the plains people are not fully legitimate. Nature opposes a vacuum and economic backwardness attracts ambitious persons from outside who feel it appropriate to take the risk of starting some business or industry there.

If establishing a separate state composed of the eight districts in Garhwal and Kumaon helps end economic exploitation of this region, the present movement would appear logical. However, there are other reasons, in addition to economic ones, for the movement for Uttarkhand. Behind this demand for a separate state there is a solid political component which has gained strength by allegations about reservations and specific shares. However, we should not ignore the wishes of the local politicians or how the people want to participate in this very profitable political game.

mean to those who do not see any opportunity to become political leaders in the huge and competitive ocean of humanity that is Uttar Pradesh. In the beginning, there will be a vidhan sabha with 30 of 40 members with all the privileges and prestige that goes with such positions. Regardless of how small the state, we have to look at the benefits of having a separate government and the joys of becoming cabinet members and the benefits that go with it. The secretariat and other offices of the separate government will also provide new positions to the educated local men and women.

Then Uttarkhand will have the appropriate position with its name and location on the map of India as a regional government. The present negative connotation of the word "pahari" [mountaineer] used by the plains people to describe the residents of the hilly regions will end. The people of Garhwal and Kumaon will be a self-dependent, respected and a recognized group. These are not minor ideas or arguments for these people—more from Garhwal than from Kumaon—are recognized as mostly domestic servants and security guards in the northern plains.

This is strange (is not it?) that we, the plains residents, give little attention to the military prowess of the people of Garhwal and Kumaon even though they have their own military centers in Lansdowne and Ranikhet. These two groups have produced some great soldiers and officers. We should also remember that our present commander in chief, V.C. Joshi, a four-star general, is from Kumaon. If we go a little farther in the past, we will remember that a Garhwali soldier had won the Victoria Cross during the last World War.

The leaders from the proposed Uttarkhand have not fared badly in the past. Garhwal and Kumaon have provided Uttar Pradesh with three chief ministers. Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant was first the chief minister of Uttar Pradesh and then the home minister in the central cabinet. His high position was not limited to the cabinet position he held. H.N. Bahuguna was also the chief minister of Uttar Pradesh and a central minister. Similarly, N.D. Tiwari has been a minister of finance, foreign affairs, industries, and planning in Delhi.

We cannot forget K.C. Pant also. He is the head of finance commission now and held portfolios several ministries in Delhi. One of the other important political leaders from Kumaon was the late P.C. Joshi, the communist leader whose contribution to develop his party has become a part of history now. In this context, are you aware that the wife of the first prime minister of Pakistan, Liaquat Ali Khan, was also a Pant. She had, however, embraced Christianity. Perhaps, our neighbors in Pakistan would not want to remember this fact, however, it is a fact and needed mentioning here.

Now that Tiwari has become active in the state's Congress politics, we have started to hear something about him almost daily. He was specially heard about when as the state Congress Party president he had proposed an

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the forefront of the state Congress because of his special position in the party. Actually, there have been some rumors in the past that he was a danger to Narasimha Rao as the prime minister. This could be an exaggeration, however, it does point to his lofty position in northern India within the Congress Party.

The Uttarkhand region has, in addition to the political arena, produced many civil service officials who have performed as administrators very commendably. The Pant and Pandey head this list. Many Joshis are also holding important positions in Uttar Pradesh and in other states. We have to admit that Kumaon had a better share in government positions than Garhwal, however, these high positions were usually attained by high-caste persons only. This, perhaps, is one of the indicators of the present social structure there.

Is an Uttarkhand being established in the huge Uttar Pradesh now? Looking at the strength behind the present movement, the possibility of a separate state appears to be more and more inevitable. The Congress Party has not formed a position on Uttarkhand, the BJP strongly supports Uttaranchal (its name for Uttarkhand), and Mulayam Singh, whose coalition government has very little support in this region, does not appear to pay any attention to it.

If new states are created on India's map, we cannot ignore the danger of India's disintegration. We already have a possible Jharkhand in our hands. Both Madhav and Vidharab are waiting to be formally recognized as separate units. It is also possible that some other parts of the country can also start thinking about it with time. There is no reason to be worried. However, our leaders must show foresight in removing the problems and fulfilling the desires of various regions. They should not let such problems and desires evolve into disputes just for the sake of immediate election benefits.

Volatile Situation in Uttarkhand Examined

Background Reviewed

95AS0016A New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 26 Sep 94 p 4

[Article by Jagdish Prasad Chaturvedi: "Pay Attention to the History and Geography of Uttarkhand"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Some people are surprised at the demand for a separate Uttarkhand. A strong movement to oppose reservations took place here with an intensity never witnessed before in the region. There are no surprises. Although Uttarkhand is a part of Uttar Pradesh, the residents of this area were never subjugated to the rule of Ayodhya, Hastinapur, Patliputra, Kanauj, Delhi, Lucknow, or Calcutta. Therefore, it is wrong to assume that their mindset is like those of other residents of Uttar Pradesh who were ruled for thousands of years

meters. From here emerges rivers like the Ganges, Jamuna, Ramganga, Sharda, and Saryu which make the plains of India fertile. The first Shankaracharya by founding holy places like Badrinath has made it the holiest of places in India, and the regional economy evolved around it.

The place had nothing but peace and tranquility. It had high mountains without roads, it had its forests with fierce animals like lions and bears whom Jim Corbett had made a part of European literature. Cultivation was not practical here because of its natural setting. Rice or other similar items can only be grown in those areas which have slanting slopes with step like formation, and where a plough could be used without the bullocks. Here man replaced the bullock. The economy had its profound effects and the average age of the residents of Tihri and Uttarkashi districts is very low and it is noteworthy that this age after independence and planned development kept on sliding. At the time Dr. Rammanohar Lohia was lamenting in the Parliament on the daily income of the farmers of Uttar Pradesh amounting to two annas, he had the statistics from the districts of Tihri, Garwal and Balia of the north-eastern region. Later a central committee did recognize that the district of Uttarkashi is the poorest district in the country. According to the research conducted by the learned scholar Bhatnagar the average annual per capita income of 129 rupees has come down to 85 rupees. Even then it cannot be argued that the growing population is the reason for the regional poverty. In the year 1971, the population of the Uttarkashi district covering an area of 7,816 square kilometers was 149,937 which in 1981 increased to 190,948. Similar increases were experienced in the other districts of Nainital, Almora, Pithoragarh, Tihri-Garwal, Chamoli, Pauri-Garwal, and Dehradun but the means for enhanced income did not arise. In 1971 a plan was developed for building the Tihri dam but because of the fear of submerging the city of Tihri in water, the dam has not been built for the past 23 years. The people were deprived of employment, power and the hope of any industrial development. The districts of Chamoli and Pithoragarh are close cousins to the state of affairs in the districts of Tihri-Garwal and Uttarkashi.

Both the development and history have damaged the region. In good old days when the pilgrims visited (holy) places like Gangotri, Jamnotri, Badrinath and Kedarnath, on foot, they stayed for a month to a month and a half. The passage they travelled provided employment and trade for the area. In spite of this, the area was so poverty stricken that the famous poetess Mahadevi Verma wrote her well known lines, "honey, give me a needle, give me thread". Ever since the roads were constructed and buses and cars started to use them, the journey to Badrinath only took a day or two, and the only beneficiary of this development were the residents

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